Daily Report

East Europe

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FBIS-EEU-95-052 *17 March 1995*

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Meksi, Papoulias on Need To Increase Cooperation

AU1703074495 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1900 GMT 14 Mar 95

[Report by Bujar Muharremi]

[FBIS Translated Text] After meeting with parliamentarian groups today, Greek Foreign Minister Karolos Papoulias held a meeting with Prime Minister Aleksander Meksi.

It is the duty of our governments to contribute to strengthening bilateral relations and friendship between our two ancient peoples, Meksi stressed at the meeting with Papoulias. The history that connects our two neighboring countries offers opportunities for greater cooperation with common interests.

I assess, Meksi stressed, that economic and human relations are more important. Albania is determined to pursue its European path, and in this respect Greece's support has been and may become greater.

Trade, road construction, facilitating the visa process, opening new communication points, guarding and organizing the border areas, and legalizing Albanians who work in Greece are among the spheres and problems that our governments should resolve by taking advantage of the Greek minority and the Arvanitas, Albanians who live and work in Greece, as bridges of communication, thus also resolving the problem of Cams. Meksi said, regarding all this, that it is necessary to establish a joint Albanian-Greek commission, and for it to start work as soon as possible.

Thanking Meksi for the warm reception, Mr. Papoulias expressed the Greek Government's goodwill to increase bilateral cooperation and readiness to contribute so that, in as short as possible a time, the joint commission discusses and provides solutions to problems that will assist in the development of Albanian-Greek relations. Papoulias stated that the Greek Government is confident that all the possibilities to march forward without turning back exist.

We are ready to support Albania in connection with the European Union, financing from Europe, broader trade, gradual legalization of Albanians who work in Greece, development of border trade, expediting visas, cooperation in the field of defense, etc., Papoulias said.

Deputy Foreign Minister Arian Starova also attended the meeting.

Papoulias held a courtesy meeting today with Archbishop Anastasios. During the meeting, they discussed, generally, problems of the Orthodox Church. Papoulias-Anastasios talks later continued without the presence of reporters.

U.S. Influence on Ties to Greece Viewed

AU1703095495 Lezhe KOHA JONE in Albanian 15 Mar 95 p 3

[Commentary by Andi Bejtja: "Two Ministers Smile Under the Shadow of the U.S. Flag"]

[FBIS Translated Text] After more than a year of gloom in Albanian-Greek relations, Tirana and Athens sat down at the discussion table in the glow of a lamp they did not light themselves. It seems that it was the shade of the U.S. flag over this table, where the Albanian and Greek flags emitted signals of forced camaraderie, that made the two foreign ministers smile at each other.

During recent months, the number of political tourists with U.S. passports to each country has been greater than ever. The United States put pressure on Albania to release the four members of the Greek minority, and later put pressure on Greece to soften its markedly nationalist demands toward Europe's poorest country, while always taking care that neither side should emerge as the victor or the vanquished.

The proposals that U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher sent Papoulias in a letter at the beginning of March have formed a sort of agenda for the Albanian-Greek talks now being held in Tirana. According to Christopher, the main points should be determining the line of the border between the two countries and Albania's participation in a military exercise in Greece.

Whereas fulfilling the first item puts the Greek Government in a difficult position vis-a-vis right-wing forces in Greece, a joint Albanian-Greek exercise puts Albania in a somewhat unfavorable position with Turkey, its old military ally and the Greek state's number-one enemy. With these two movements, U.S. diplomacy is seeking to tame nostalgic nationalists in both countries and also to eliminate as far as is possible the gulf between the two alliances, i.e. the Orthodox and Muslim axes in the Balkans, a clash between which is evident in the inferno of Bosnia.

Whereas it is easier for the United States and the EU to put pressure on Greece, which is an EU member obliged to respect European regulations and principles, this cannot be said of Turkey, which is not a member of the EU but only of NATO. The United States is eyeing suspiciously Turkey's rapid economic—and especially military—progress. It views with the same feeling of fear the creation of the Black Sea Assembly, out of which Turkey, in the role of the most powerful military power in the Balkans left outside the EU, might create an analogous organization. In order to counteract this idea, Serbian President Milosevic, while on a visit to Romania, put forward the idea of creating a Balkan confederation but leaving out Turkey. The response of Berisha, who has no interest in Serbian Orthodox domination of the Balkans, was immediate: No Balkan confederation is conceivable without including Turkey.

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It is important for the achievement of the United State's political aims in the Balkans that the Tirana-Skopje-Sofia-Istanbul highway should not remain the only one in the region. This highway, which seems to pave the way for a political alliance with the same membership, must also be connected to another highway connecting the south of Albania with the north of Greece, thus drawing closer together two axes for whom it is difficult to become allies. It will therefore be no surprise if the east-west highway mentioned in the Albanian-Greek talks becomes a reality.

The improvement of Albanian-Greek relations is of particular, apparently indirect, importance for the fate of the Republic of Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, FYROM], whose destiny is indissolubly linked with the future of this region.

Immediately after the release of the five [members of the Greek minority in Albania], President Clinton's adviser Richard Shifter [name as published] said to the Greek press: "if Albanian-Greek relations improve and there are satisfactory adjustments, we hope that this climate will also spread eastward to relations between Greece and the FYROM."

The FYROM, that fragile Slavo-Albanian-Macedonian state, is so far perhaps the only Balkan country left outside the two familiar Balkan alliances. Any approach to either of these axes could cost it dearly. This is very clear to President Gligorov, who in order to preserve his country's sovereignty has been turned into the spokesman of U.S. policy in the Balkans. In an interview we happened to receive one day before the recent elections in the FYROM, Gligorov declared shortly and succinctly: "I am against the creation of any Orthodox or Muslim axis in the Balkans."

Government Reaches Agreement With Strikers

AU1703115395 Tirana RILINDJA DEMOKRATIKE in Albanian 14 Mar 95 p 2

[ATSH-signed report: "The Strike of the Textile Workers in Berat Is Called Off"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Yesterday, government representatives, headed by Dylber Vrioni, the deputy prime minister and finance minister, met the representative of the Independent Trade Unions of the Toxtilo Mill in Berat and agreed to meet all the requests made by the strikers some days ago.

According to the agreement signed by the two sides, 210 textile workers affected by the reform will return to work on 1 May. Meanwhile, they and other workers who supported the strike will be paid according to Council of Ministers Decision No. 420. It was settled that during this period, the experiment in the jakarta [a type of cloth] workshop, where 24 workers will work and 38 machines will be repaired, should continue. The composition of administration will be discussed; workers who get frequent health leave and those who carry out extra business activities will be identified; the money from debtors will be cashed; the tasks set forth by State Control will be put into practice; and the collective contract will be compiled.

After the contract was signed, the strike, which started 13 days ago, was called off.

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Russian Ambassador Explains Postponement of Visit

AU1703124595 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1400 GMT 16 Mar 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Internal reasons, rather than reasons related to Bulgarian-Russian relations, have caused the postponement of Russian Prime Minister Chernomyrdin's visit to Bulgaria, originally planned for 23 March, Russian Ambassador Aleksandr Avdeyev said at a special news conference in Sofia on 16 March.

Already on Tuesday [14 March], in a telephone conversation with Prime Minister Zhan Videnov, Chernomyrdin had expressed his regret at the fact that he would not be able to visit Bulgaria. In the same telephone conversation, the two prime ministers discussed bilateral Bulgarian-Russian relations and the development of the two countries' economies.

Ambassador Avdeyev pointed out that Prime Minister Chernomyrdin thanked Prime Minister Videnov for the understanding he demonstrated regarding the postponement of the visit.

Chernomyrdin's visit has been postponed, not canceled, Ambassador Avdeyev said. It is likely to take place after President Zhelev's visit to Moscow on 9 May, when the celebration of the 50th anniversary of the victory over fascist Germany will take place. In the meantime the preparation of the documents that must be signed during Prime Minister Chernomyrdin's visit to Bulgaria, will continue. In this context, Minister Nikolay Afanasyev will visit Bulgaria on 20 March, while Deputy Prime Minister Kiril Tsochev will visit Moscow at the end of March.

Bilateral relations between Bulgaria and Russia, including political relations, are developing in a very dynamic manner, Ambassador Avdeyev said, and added that those relations are very good at the level of both prime ministers and presidents.

Kozloduy Nuclear Plant's Fifth Reactor Restarted

AU1703105095 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 17 Mar 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The 1,000-megawatt Reactor No. 5 of the Kozloduy Nuclear Power Plant has been restarted. At present its capacity is being gradually increased, and at this moment it is producing 850 megawatts of electric power.

According to Kozloduy experts by 1600 [1400 GMT] the fifth reactor will reach its maximum capacity. The reactor was shut down yesterday for less than 24 hours because of a leak of cooling hydrogen from a damaged generator. The reactor has already been reconnected to the country's grid.

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Klaus: NATO Entry Has 'Symbolic Significance'

AU1603202795 Vienna ORF Television Network in German 1830 GMT 16 Mar 95

[Interview with Czech Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus by Annette Scheiner in Vienna on 16 March—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Announcer] Czech Republic [CR] Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus, who is on a private visit to Austria today, has said that he understands people's fears about the Temelin nuclear power plant. Klaus promised that Temelin would be as safe as the nuclear power stations in Germany and Switzerland.

[Klaus] I can understand that people are afraid or might be afraid, but, essentially, I can say that for us safety at Temelin is a priority. For us, for our citizens, for our government, having the maximum degree of safety at Temelin is an absolute necessity.

[Scheiner] The Czech Republic, like Austria, is a NATO partner. You want to join NATO as quickly as possible. Why are you in such a hurry?

[Klaus] It is not just a matter of being in a hurry. For us, NATO membership also possesses a symbolic significance. It would mark a definitive break with the past. For us, NATO membership would mean that we are definitely a part of the Western world.

[Scheiner] You also want to belong to the EU, although it is also known that you yourself take a critical view of certain things within it.

[Klaus] For us, EU membership is also a goal of our foreign policy. I have always said that. If we make a few critical observations, then that criticism is directed at over [preceding word in English] centralization on the one hand with respect of various decisions, and, on the other, we have recovered our national identity after 40 years, and that national identity is not something we want to immediately lose once again.

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Politicians on Clinton Letter to Meciar

AU1603155095 Bratislava SME in Slovak 15 Mar 95 p 3

["Survey" by "pt": "Politicians on Bill Clinton's Letter to Vladimir Meciar"]

[FBIS Translated Text] On 13 March, T. Russel, U.S. ambassador to the Slovak Republic, presented Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar with a letter from U.S. President Bill Clinton. In the letter, the U.S. President supported the efforts to sign a basic treaty with Hungary and voiced the view that the Slovak Republic has a chance to strengthen its position among the nations of Europe, on the basis of the observance of democratic principles. We asked a number of politicians what significance they ascribe to the contents of the letter:

Pavol Demes, director of the Foreign Policy Department at the Office of the President of the Slovak Republic: I perceive the letter as President Clinton's and the U.S. Administration's reaction to the current negotiations between the Slovak Republic and the Hungarian Republic on the signing of a basic treaty. The U.S. side, like the European Union, welcomes this process of rapprochement between the Central European republics because relations between the Slovak Republic and the Hungarian Republic gave rise to a number of doubts in the past. I believe that the European Union and the United States would welcome it if this process led to the signing of a basic treaty.

Tibor Cabaj, Movement for a Democratic Slovakia deputy: It shows that the United States and Clinton are interested in the Central European countries sorting out their relations.

Jan Carnogursky, chairman of the Christian Democratic Movement: President Clinton's letter is an expression of the attention paid by the West to the settlement of Slovak-Hungarian relations. I am not sure whether President Clinton's praise for efforts at this settlement is not premature.

Milan Ftacnik, deputy chairman of the Party of the Democratic Left: The U.S. President let Mr. Meciar's government know in a very diplomatic way what kind of Slovakia the United States will support.

Eduard Kukan, Democratic Union deputy: President Clinton's letter expresses, first and foremost, the U.S.'s interest in strengthening its presence in the Central European region. It also expresses interest in intensifying cooperation with Slovakia and defines exactly the principles, compliance with which might permit the intensification of this cooperation. The timing of this letter is significant—that is, the fact that it was sent before the start of the conference on the Stability Pact in Paris, at the time of the drafting of the basic treaty between the Slovak Republic and the Hungarian Republic, and during the current stage of our development.

Miroslav Spejl, first deputy chairman of the Social Democratic Party in Slovakia: The first aspect of Bill Clinton's letter is positive because, for the time being, the U.S. President regards us as a state capable of becoming integrated into Western structures. The other aspect is negative because, had everything been in order, no such letter would have been necessary. This definitely is a reason for our supreme representatives to consider their next steps carefully. I hope no one will again try to belittle the significance of Bill Clinton's letter.

Meaning of Letter Analyzed

AU1603154895 Bratislava SME in Slovak 15 Mar 95 p 4

[Commentary by Juraj Hrabko: "Five Messages From America"]

[FBIS Translated Text] U.S. President Bill Clinton's letter to Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar consists of five paragraphs. Each of them is significant in its own right and, together, they represent a message from the American people to the population of the country below the Tatras. Not even the arrangement of individual paragraphs in this message is coincidental.

The first paragraph makes it quite clear that, in writing the letter, the U.S. President was proceeding from information obtained from trustworthy people and that it is therefore impossible to cast doubt on this information in any way.

The second paragraph recalls the President's meeting last year with Michal Kovac and Vladimir Meciar. I will leave aside Vladimir Meciar's words about how ashamed he felt for the Slovak president at that meeting—that is a strictly Slovak affair. Bill Clinton briefly and clearly named the values Slovakia must live up to in order to join democratic Europe and the democratic world. These are: the strengthening of democracy through constructive relations with ethnic minorities; the observance of constitutional norms; the independence of the media; the implementation of market economy reforms, including privatization; and the development of cooperative relations with neighboring states. Plainly speaking, the above values are conditions for the existence of a democratic Slovakia. It only needs to be pointed out that these conditions or values have not been forced upon us, but that the people of the Slovak Republic themselves publicly endorsed them in the squares, with keys jingling in their hands, in November 1989.

The third paragraph tactfully draws attention to the potential consequences of a failure to sign a basic treaty with Hungary by the deadline that was voluntarily and jointly agreed to by Gyula Horn and Vladimir Meciar. The U.S. President tellingly calls it a statesmanlike initiative. However, a delay of its signing would mean, at the very least, disappointment for the modern and civilized world, which knows both the power of peace and the agony of all kinds of conflicts or wars.

The fourth paragraph warns Slovakia about pinning its hopes on the East and once again offers integration into European institutions and NATO to its population. At the same time, it expresses concern about the frequency

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of both official and unofficial visits from the Russian Federation to the Slovak Republic.

The fifth paragraph refers to all of the forms of assistance the United States is ready to provide to Slovakia in overcoming the inevitable obstacles on the way to establishing a stable and peaceful Central Europe.

The message from the American people is formulated in a very precise way. It is the message from a friend who recognizes Slovakia as an equal partner. It is not coincidental, however, and we can only hope that the administrators of public affairs in the Slovak Republic will not consider it superfluous.

Commentary in Daily

AU1703125095 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 15 Mar 95 p 3

[Commentary by Peter Fridner: "Letters From Clinton Have Arrived..."]

[FBIS Translated Text] It does not often happen that U.S. presidents write letters to the prime ministers of small countries, let alone letters that are intended for publication. They normally send emissaries tasked with explaining a point of view. That the situation is grave and that the time for serious decisions is becoming ripe is borne out by the fact that an emissary has also been to Slovakia and Hungary—U.S. Assistant Secretary of State Holbrooke—followed shortly by President Clinton's letters to Prime Ministers Meciar and Horn. It can be assumed that Romanian President Iliescu was another recipient of a message on the same topic.

Clinton's letters confirm the impression that Central Europe's fate is being decided behind the diplomatic scenes and that the United States has assumed a major role here. The overall framework for such solutions is, of course, shaped at superpower level—for example, on the Washington-Bonn-Moscow line. However, as we have seen in Yugoslavia, if something goes wrong "in the terrain," the whole structure can come crashing down like a house of cards. One of the objectives of the letters is to make sure that the promising interstate process begun by the January meeting between the Slovak and Hungarian prime ministers does not falter.

Nevertheless, such correspondence also has domestic political, usually "between-the-lines," aspects. In the Slovak context, this mentions President Kovac in the same breath as Prime Minister Meciar and identifies the political aims on whose basis Slovakia has "more opportunities than ever before to strengthen its position among the nations of Europe." Constructive relations between the ethnic minorities (it is not said which side should contribute more to them), adhering to the constitutional norms, media independence (obviously, the author knows very well what he is writing about), and implementing market reforms, including privatization (that "including" is not there by accident), figure among them. The United States will support Slovakia's participation in establishing a stable and prosperous Central Europe as long as it is "democratic and reforming." It is not said whether, if the reverse should be the case, it will give up on our society or whether it will work for internal changes. It can be assumed from various U.S. statements that Central Europe is far too important a strategic area for the United States for something to be left to chance here.

The present Slovak governing coalition may interpret Clinton's letter as a friendly gesture, like the November demarche from the European Union. Nevertheless, there are things in it that, in view of the developments since "the night of diminished democracy" [3-4 November 1994], it can hardly take pride in. Only the Prague summit of January 1994 and the Meciar-Horn meeting a year later were worthy of Clinton's praise. Putting the results of this meeting into the form of a treaty does not depend, of course, on the Bratislava government alone. However, the prerequisites for fulfilling other conditions are, first and foremost, in its hands, and the direction in which Slovakia will head in the decades to come depends on its representatives. And this is exactly what is being decided upon now.

Meciar, Horn Discuss Basic Treaty

LD1703003595 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 2300 GMT 16 Mar 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Talks between Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar and Prime Minister Gyula Horn about the basic treaty between Slovakia and Hungary ended in Bratislava yesterday.

After seven hours of talks, Vladimir Meciar said that the two sides had agreed on the basic treaty. He said that after some further amendments the treaty was to be approved by the two governments. The process is to be concluded at the stability conference in Paris with the signing of the treaty, specified Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar.

He went on to emphasize that he would like to thank, on his behalf as well as on the government's behalf, his Hungarian counterpart, Gyula Horn, for the success in achieving an agreement about the basic treaty between the two states. He added that this was a good step toward strengthening trust between our two states and nations.

The Hungarian prime minister agreed with Vladimir Meciar that both sides did the necessary work leading to the expected result. He emphasized that they had found a satisfactory solution for every single issue. He considered especially important the fact that the treaty was in accordance with European norms and demands. According to the Hungarian prime minister, it was possible to build a great number of further bilateral agreements on the basis of this treaty, agreements that would contribute toward mutual cooperation.

Answering a question about the issue of national minorities and autonomy, he said that the treaty included specific details.

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Meciar, Horn To Sign Treaty on 19 Mar

LD1603222395 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 2200 GMT 16 Mar 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The prime ministers of Slovakia and Hungary, Vladimir Meciar and Guyla Horn, agreed on the Hungarian-Slovak treaty in Bratislava late this evening.

They will sign the document on 19 March in Paris where they will attend the Conference on the Stability Pact .

This was announced by Vladimir Meciar following six hours of talks between the two prime ministers. His Budapest counterpart has confirmed this information.

The two prime ministers did not give any further details about the treaty between the two states, pointing out that its text will be published after it is signed.

Romanian FM: Treaty Negotiations Not 'Frozen'

AU1603155895 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1400 GMT 16 Mar 95

[FBIS Translated Text] At the end of today's talks in Budapest with Hungarian Foreign Minister Laszlo Kovacs, Romanian Foreign Minister Teodor Melescanu said that because of the short time left until the opening of the Conference on Stability in Europe—in Paris on 20 March—it has been agreed with the Hungarian side that it is not possible to finalize the basic treaty between Romania and Hungary, despite all the progress made. Melescanu said that this does not mean the process is frozen or that it has stopped there. There is a joint determination to continue the negotiations and, by building on the foundation established thus far, manage to finalize the treaty as soon as possible, Melescanu said.

As regards today's meeting and the previous meetings at the level of experts, Melescanu said that they represent positive steps in improving bilateral relations and accelerating the process of joint integration into the European structures.

According to press correspondent Dorin Suciu, Mr. Teodor Melescanu left Budapest this afternoon for home.

Kovacs on Failure

LD1603221095 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1730 GMT 16 Mar 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] This morning's discussions in Budapest between the Hungarian and Romanian foreign ministers was the last attempt to conclude the basic treaty before the opening day of the Paris stability conference on 20 March. As we know, it was not successful, although the two statesmen are trying to put on a good face over what happened. After their discussion they spoke to our staff member Levente Suekoesd. [passage omitted]

[Begin recording] [Suekoesd] What does the fact that the Hungarian-Romanian basic treaty is not going to be signed by 21 March after all mean for us?

[Hungarian Foreign Minister Laszlo Kovacs] It means we have not managed to adopt a document that lays down frameworks in the various spheres of Hungarian-Romanian relations and that would provide a good basis for the further expansion of relations. [passage omitted]

It would also have been a good thing if this treaty could have been built into the system of agreements at the Paris conference on European stability. Naturally, there is a possibility that this will happen afterwards. It can be incorporated afterwards as well.

It would also have been a good thing, from the point of view of the international assessments of Hungary and Romania, if we had managed to settle the disputed issues in a European manner and according to European norms. [passage omitted]

This morning, when we sat down first of all for a meeting, tete-a-tete, with Mr. Melescanu, what I wanted to know was whether, on the six open spheres of issues that we knew required a solution, he had some new mandate, and whether there was any hope for any progress.

[Suekoesd] And was there?

[Kovacs] When I put this question to him, he said very honestly that they could not move forward on this. So, for example, I put it to him that in connection with the oft-mentioned Council of Europe Recommendation No. 1201, we see various possibilities for a solution. [passage omitted]

To this he said that, for them, none of the various forms are acceptable—at least for the time being. And then I saw clearly that we could not reach agreement today—in other words, that there would be no signing before Paris. [passage omitted] [end recording]

[Suekoesd] When will the next round of discussions be held at the level of experts? This was the question I put to Teodor Melescanu, the Romanian foreign minister.

[Begin recording] [Melescanu, in Romanian with superimposed translation into Hungarian] At today's discussions with Mr. Kovacs we agreed to continue, once again, the expert discussions within the shortest possible time. There is a chance for the meeting, the continuation, within not months but a few weeks.

[Suekoesd] Political decisions, as well, will probably be needed in the coming months. Will you negotiate with your Hungarian colleague, too, if necessary, in the event that the experts are unable to make progress in the discussions?

[Melescanu] Yes, naturally. It is in this connection that, in general, we today reviewed the situation of bilateral relations. And one of the concrete issues on which we

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agreed is, precisely, the matter of future meetings between foreign ministers. But the same also applies to meetings between heads of state, speakers of parliament, and prime ministers. We consider these, too, to be important. We will meet in the near future, at the time of the handing over of the border crossings at Melykerek or Battonya, or the renewed border crossing of Bors. This is what we decided today with Mr. Kovacs. In April we will also meet at a European summit meeting; and apart from this, also at any time whenever this is required in the interest of speeding up the talks.

[Suekoesd] Do you agree that there is a need for a change, an alteration, in the domestic political situation in Romania as well—for you to be able to make progress at the discussions?

[Melescanu] I think that the domestic political changes taking place in the two countries, as well as the European political changes, can have a good effect on the discussions with regard to the bilateral basic treaties. They can accelerate them.

[Suekoesd] Were you not disappointed by today's discussion?

[Melescanu] No, on the contrary. At the discussions it became unequivocally clear that we achieved quite a lot of results in a very short time. I feel that today we stood up from the negotiating table with the feeling, with the intention, that in the future too, we will strive for the acceleration of the discussions. [end recording]

Horn Comments on Economic Course, Resignations

AU1703110495 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 16 Mar 95 pp 1, 6

[Interview with Prime Minister Gyula Horn by Peter Vajda in Parliament on 14 March: "I Am Determined To Carry Through What We Have Started"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Vajda] What is your opinion regarding society's reaction to the recent package of measures? Opposition parties in parliament reacted to your words in a rather stormy manner.

[Horn] I find the demagogic style and tone used by certain opposition members to be unfortunate for two reasons. First: Most of them are aware of the real situation prevailing in Hungary, and instead of appreciating this government's determination in making this decision, they only criticized it, without any arguments. Second: I think the government has a lot to do in the coming weeks to make clear what, exactly, we are talking about here.

Besides, I regard certain statements made in parliament as astonishing—namely that this government has abolished the family allowance or that this government has terminated every kind of child-rearing support. Several people declared that they did not really know what was described very thoroughly at the news conference held on 12 March. I would add that I find it strange that the current opposition parties or the party in power in the previous legislative cycle conducted no self-examination whatsoever. One should ponder what they left us as heritage, the composition of the state debt and the events that have taken place in the course of the past four years.... They should not pretend that they have nothing to do with the situation that has emerged.

[Vajda] There was also a commotion in your own party in the wake of the recent measures. Rumor has it that, after the meeting of the National Committee, the parliamentary group of the Hungarian Socialist Party [MSZP] also held a rather tough debate.

[Horn] The MSZP National Committee held an early morning meeting on 13 March. Two opinions dominated at that meeting. One was that they support the government in connection with Sunday's decisions Sunday, but at the same time—quite justifiably, too, in my view—they demand a better picture and awareness of the background to the decisions and a preliminary debate on the decisions. I agree with this. It can be said in my defense that we had to take an urgent step, one that required a lot of effort from all of us. Without trying to inspire any kind of pity, I must say that the government is in the midst of very tough and intense domestic and international activities.

[Vajda] Tell us, Mr Horn: When did the National Committee members learn of the expected decision? People who are not government members?

[Horn] On the afternoon of 12 March, but I must add that, although not in such concrete form, the party has been dealing with these issues for months. More than two weeks ago, Finance Minister Lajos Bokros attended the MSZP National Committee meeting and described the essence of these issues. Therefore, the members have been informed about the general trend; they only lacked information about the concrete elements, on which we actually decided on 12 March. I would like to add that the "things"—and here I mean the package of measures—are not yet final, because concrete and detailed decisions will be made only later. Legislative activity will take place now, and we will also discuss the details of this activity with the MSZP group working committee in parliament, for example.

[Vajda] How much time will you have for this?

[Horn] We assigned deadlines to the Sunday decisions. The series of exchange-rate policy measures became valid immediately. I think everyone understands this, because this is the only way to avoid currency speculation. Quite a few of the other decisions will become valid at the end of March, but the coming months will also see a lot of effort working out and implementing the Sunday decisions.

[Vajda] You mentioned the demand of MSZP National Committee members to have the right to interfere, but

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you failed to mention the parliamentary group. How did this group react to the measures?

[Horn] Without excessive politeness, I must say that I very much appreciate the constructive approach the MSZP parliamentary group has demonstrated in the past eight months. As opposed to all rumors to the contrary, the parliamentary group has consistently supported the government measures. This gives me great security and guarantees. In addition, it is precisely the parliamentary group members who were the ones to constantly demand firm and consistent measures. Naturally, many of these people are also astonished now, when we take these measures. But all we are doing is what they asked us to do.

They also justifiably expected us not to just talk about the black economy but also to draw conclusions from the fact that a lot of people receive unemployment benefits while they make money on the black economy, and that, for some people, a family allowance is nothing but a tip or supplementary income.... This is the first time we have decided to take real action on this matter, just like the serious action against abuses and corruption: A number of cases are already being investigated by the Office of the Prosecutor.

Of course, we also have to draw a conclusion from the debates in the parliamentary group meeting. The MSZP group members in parliament must be consistently informed, and they must also be involved in tackling certain issues. However, I cannot give up the following principle: The parliamentary group has its task; and the government, too, has its task. Thus, the government is responsible for carrying out something by coordinating with the parliamentary group, but it is the government's own business and responsibility as to what it actually puts on the table.

[Vajda] You are saying that the parliamentary groups urged the measures. This raises a question: Why have you waited so long?

[Horn] For many reasons. In my view, this is the first time a package has come before the government—and will also come before parliament—which, rather than desiring to use monetary measures only to improve the country's financial and economic situation, prescribes a broad range of tasks, primarily by improving and ensuring the conditions for economic growth.

[Vajda] Does this also mean that you do not fully agree with Bekesi's statement that, as we heard on television, this is his package?

[Horn] Permit me not to deal with the past. Especially not the recent past. I do not wish to qualify the statements either of Bekesi or any other of my deputy colleagues. I look ahead and do not deal with various people's statements.

[Vajda] Were you surprised that you lost two of your ministers?

[Horn] I was not pleased. I would like to emphasize that no personal conflict existed within the government, between them and the other members, including myself. These are two very worthy people. I was very sorry that they came to this decision. I tried to convince them to change their minds but I failed. I had to accept this, and am already having talks on the succession.

[Vajda] When can we expect the successors to be nominated?

[Horn] I told the parliamentary group that I would like to do this very quickly.

[Vajda] Within a week?

[Horn] It does not matter if it is within one week or two. We have reached agreement with both of them, Pal Kovacs and Bela Katona, that they will stay in office until the new ministers start work. I would like to add that I respect the two ministers' decision but I also respect at least as much the decisions of those who on 12 March said that we must go to the end of this road; people who take on unpopular tasks also deserve respect.

[Vajda] With all the attendant risks?

[Horn] With all the attendant risks, even at the cost of their temporary loss of popu[illegible]y, or anything else. They accept the insults and atta[illegible]nd they deserve as much respect as those who have [illegible]

[Vajda] You are saying that you must go to the end of the road with all its risks. How great are the risks? Might the second government also be a kamikaze government? Jozsef Antall used this term for his government.

[Horn] I assume there will be many phases before we settle the country's affairs and catch up with developed countries. There might be victims. Governments can also be victims. Nevertheless, we must go to the end of the road, in the interest of the country, of the nation, of those who will come after us, our children and grandchildren. I very seriously believe that we do not have a choice: We either start off on this road or no one will be able to stop the decline of the nation. Well, it is possible that I or others will become a victim of this. Nevertheless, I can say that I am fully committed to seeing through to completion what we have started.

[Vajda] It is clear from what you are saying that you know that difficult decisions have been made and that the devil lies in the detail. To take this further: Is it possible to debate a detail like having to pay as much as 500 forints for outpatient specialist care? If a person's tonsils are examined by a laryngologist, it costs 500 forints. Is this not excessive?

[Horn] Taking the amount that can be spent on the welfare system as a given that we cannot change, we can have debates in the parliamentary group and with the social partners. We are open to debate. As for the concrete example, the Welfare Ministry was given the

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task of working out the appropriate techniques, and we have also held discussions with the Finance Ministry and other professional groups.

[Vajda] What are the chances of cooperation with the social partners?

[Horn] This government has done all it could in the past eight months to come to an agreement with the social partners. It did not depend on us.... I appreciate the constructive attitude shown by the employers and trade unions in connection, for example, with the 1995 budget. It is obvious that one side—obviously, the employee side—is not happy about the recent measures and will presumably continue to criticize the government. I would like to maintain our continuing dialogue with the social partners.

[Vajda] What will happen to the agreement made with the socialist-social democratic platform of the National Federation of Hungarian Trade Unions [MSZOSZ]?

[Horn] We will hold discussions between the MSZP delegation and the MSZOSZ socialist-social democratic platform. I trust that we can change the agreement if necessary because the possibility exists.

[Vajda] Have the recent measures affected relations between the coalition partners?

[Horn] In my view, the package had a positive effect on these relations. The Alliance of Free Democrats [SZDSZ] supported it and I consider chairman Peto's 13 March speech to be decisively constructive. I would like to add that both sides have promised to stop sending messages to each other. People who say that the coalition partners should be dealing with the country's affairs rather than each other's are right.

[Vajda] Finally, are you not worried that the basic treaties that are being prepared will be seen by the public as a pseudo-action? In fact, will we have basic treaties?

[Horn] This kind of claim is untenable. This is not a pseudoaction. We also included the historic conciliation in our election campaign. As to the chances: We have every chance of concluding the basic treaties. An intensive text coordination is under way. I am also prepared for prime ministerial meetings if necessary. We can all see that, in addition to the European states, the United States too has expressed its support for the treaties. This can fundamentally determine bilateral relations and the image of the East-Central European region. And finally, people who are against the basic treaties should not forget, either, that the preparations themselves have directed attention in an unprecedented manner to Hungarians living beyond Hungary's borders, and to ensuring their rights.

Bank Chairman on Deficit-Reduction Measures

LD1603143395 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1100 GMT 16 Mar 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] According to the chairman of the Hungarian National Bank [Gyoergy Suranyi], the measures announced on 12 March might reduce the budget deficit by 150 billion forints—in other words, by about one-third. As a result, the budget deficit would be tolerable for the time being; in the long run, however, a further reduction is needed.

Suranyi did not deny that wages had to be forcefully lowered to levels in neighboring states in order to improve Hungary's competitiveness. The bank chairman believes that the country's balance of payments will worsen in 1995 by 2.5 billion dollars, despite the restrictive measures.

As a result of the devaluation of the forint and the tariff surcharge to be introduced next week, imported goods will be at least 20 percent more expensive.

The national commander of the customs and excise guard has confirmed that the tariff surcharge will have to be paid even on goods brought in for individual use. Mihaly Arnold told NEPSZAVA that he expects the relevant decree to be issued today by the ministers of finance and industry and trade. [passage omitted]

Ex-Ministers on Government's Austerity Measures

LD1603162095 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1400 GMT 16 Mar 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The recently resigned Welfare Minister Pal Kovacs and Bela Katona, minister without portfolio in charge of national security, have explained their departure by saying that the government did not prepare sufficiently the social-policy measures it introduced on 12 March and did not weigh appropriately the possible political consequences.

In a joint statement Pal Kovacs and Bela Katona emphasized that they had agreed with the government that the introduction of economic austerity measures could not be put off any longer, but they said they could not support measures that would prematurely confront the determining part of society with a fait accompli and might unleash undesirable passions.

Everything possible must be made to increase trust in the government's decision because without society's confidence the crisis could deepen even further, the joint statement of the two former ministers say.

Trade Unions Oppose Measures

LD1603163095 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1400 GMT 16 Mar 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Trade unions and interest-representation organizations one after the other have been expressing their objection to the government's planned austerity measures.

The Group of the Trade Unions of Intellectuals [ESZT], accuses the government of a lack of social responsiveness and expertise. It demands that the government forward

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the planned measures and a study on the foundations and expected effects of the decision to the trade unions to have them examined by experts.

On behalf of the Cooperation Forum of Trade Unions, chairman Endre Szabo has been urging substantive coordination talks.

The Railway Workers' Trade Union stresses that the package makes the situation of families living on wages and salaries uncertain once and for all. This unionb is of the view that interest-representation organizations, too, bear responsibility for the fact that the government made its decision without their participation.

The national interest-representation organization of pensioners also criticizes the fact that the government made a decision on social measures without a preliminary survey on their expected effects. Because of the devaiuation of the forint, the 1995 pension increase and the compensation received for the increases in the price of energy have lost their value, the pensioners' representatives point out.

Demolition of Nagymaros Dam To Begin 17 Mar

LD1603145995 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1200 GMT 16 Mar 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The demolition of the circular dam at Nagymaros will begin on 17 March. By this step, the restoration works have reached a decisive phase, a statement by the Ministry of Transport, Telecommunications, and Water Management stresses. After this, it will be impossible to construct a hydroelectric power station in the region.

According to the ministry, 3.5 billion forints have been spent on the reconstruction so far, and the final sum is expected to be about 8 billion forints.

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Walesa on Political Situation, Presidency, Russia

WS1603154595 Warsaw TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC in Polish 17 Mar 95 pp 1, 4-5

[Interview with Polish President Lech Walesa by Teresa Wojcik and Andrzej Gelberg in Warsaw on 10 March: "Great Emotions Are Yet To Come"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC] Mr. President, you are drawing close to the end of your term in office. We have witnessed ebbs and flows in your political activity. Recent weeks have heralded a storm, an open war with the parliament and the coalition. Do you not share the opinion, expressed by many people, that you have lost this round and that you have lost the possibility of political maneuvering?

[Walesa] I believe that over at least 15 years I have managed to prove to the people that I always have a solution ready. And that I always achieve the goals that I set for myself.

I would like to ask for only one thing—more confidence, if not in me personally, then at least in what I have done for the public for 15 years. It is not always possible to reveal everything. Nor it is possible to define everything. I am not doing that. Sometimes, when I listen to comments, especially made by people who really know a lot, it makes my hair stand on end. They have some knowledge on both revolutions and changes of systems, and, despite that, they do not draw any conclusions that we really are changing the system and that we really did not have pluralism, democracy, and educated cadres for 50 years. In such a situation, it is necessary to keep constant vigil and to realize that these are really people who are not well prepared. If at one point they held their office for too long, they would do such silly things. I have never heard theoreticians express exactly such opinions. This makes me sad and worried.

[TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC] Let us stick to the situation at hand. Today the war with the coalition is over, and it has ended in a compromise. Jozef Oleksy has approved of your ministers. You swore in the government, signed the budget, and withdrew your motion from the Constitutional Tribunal. However, our readers keep asking us whether there is something hidden behind this compromise: The president promised to leave the coalition alone, and the coalition, especially the Democratic Left Alliance, committed itself to putting off the date of the presidential election.

[Walesa] No, that is false. I do not conclude such informal, awful, traitors' agreements. I am serving the people, and I am doing the best I can. Of course, I am a realist and I realize in what conditions I must live, steer, and influence the future of our country. Therefore, in this situation I want to do this as well as I can. Better than ever before. However, I will not enter such agreements.

So far it has been impossible to accomplish more. It was impossible to let Poland function without a government. Here Poland and governing were at stake, and I could not play any games. There is time for necessary changes, and I have proved once again that I have made these changes.

A month or two ago I publicly said the following: My dear friends, I am sorry, there will be emotions. The emotions will be great, but nothing will actually happen. I have everything under control, and I will see to it that the situation is finally secure. However, everyone has forgotten this. But I did say: Do not worry, please, everything is developing in line with predictions.

[TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC] Will there be more emotions?

[Walesa] Of course there will. In one option they will be weaker, in another enormous, depending on which option is implemented. Today it looks like it will be the more emotional one. I really would not like to implement it, but it seems that I will have to. It has been prepared in detail and we will see.

[TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC] Why not give us the details?

[Walesa] No, I must not do this. I am president. I have committed myself to leading the country through these terrible reforms, and I will lead it as efficiently as possible. Depending on the needs and necessities, I will show what should be done. Now, once a concept is revealed, it spells the end of the concept.

[TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC] For many months now we have been aware that you will run for reelection. Five years ago you were supported by many political and party circles, especially the Independent Self-Governing Trade Union "Solidarity" ["S"]. Who are you counting on today? Who is going to set up Lech Walesa's electoral committees?

[Walesa] I counting on the just judgment of history.

While preparing for my second term in office, I will show what I have managed to accomplish and what I could have managed to achieve if my advice had been taken. I will also say what I am going to do. If anyone has any doubts and asks questions, I will simply submit my plans to him. I have a concept that will help me win. This is enough for me to be judged fairly.

[TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC] At the last congress of "S," at which you were a guest, you emphasized your attachment to "S." You meant not only the historical "S," but also the organization today. At a meeting with you, Ms. Ewa Lewicka of the "S" Mazowsze region, asked why you were not taking advantage of the right to launch a legislative initiative on issues important to the union.

[Walesa] I take care of anything "S" asks me to. I try to take care of these issues before looking into other problems because I feel that I really am the father of "S."

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Well, a few days ago, for example, I submitted in the Sejm the "S" bill on railroads.

[TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC] In 1993, before the elections were actually held, you predicted their results very accurately. Why, then, when "S" submitted a motion requesting the holding of a vote of no-confidence in the Suchocka cabinet, did you dissolve the parliament and order new elections? You have other constitutional options.

[Walesa] In that situation, in the parliament in which the seats were divided as they were, it was impossible to put anything together. The crisis might have continued for a very long time, and finally the country itself would lose. I had no choice. I could have dissolved the government, but the problem was that I was not able to put together anything else. In such a situation, there was only one possibility: to ask the people. This is what I did.

[TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC] During the 1990 presidential campaign you coined the slogan "100 million [zlotys] for each Pole." At that time the idea was ridiculed, but it certainly was a slogan that favored the idea of giving property to all Poles. Throughout the time you were in office, you did not at all develop this idea, you did not launch your own legislative initiative. Today "S" has begun preparing a bill on giving property to people [ustawa uwlaszczeniowa].

[Walesa] "S" and I have agreed that meetings will be held to discuss this issue. I am waiting for these meetings because my point of view is similar to the views expressed by "S," but still there is a slight difference. I suggested setting up a joint committee of the union and the president so that we would be able to do it. So far this idea has not worked. It does not have to be a formal body; what is important is that we understand each other well and propose a good bill. It does not have to be a presidential bill; it may be a bill of the union. However, if we are to take similar steps, I must be initiated in it. Well, I must think along similar lines.

[TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC] The bill of the union will be ready very soon. Now, if you agree with its main points, will you launch a legislative initiative? Will you make such a declaration?

[Walesa] Of course I will. However, one more thing. Actually yes and no. I cannot support anything if I do not know it; I can support it if I understand it and if I fully agree with it. Now that "S" presents me with its bill, it will take half a year to analyze it. I really wish that the Union and I had done this together.

[TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC] After five years, history has gone full circle, as it were. Today the Third Republic is being governed by the same people who governed the Polish People's Republic.

[Walesa] I really do not like this. Even though these people are not those first communists, they do have the same origin. There are many things that should have been explained and settled. Murders. Crimes that have not been accounted for. This is a shame. Can we sleep peacefully when we think about the crimes committed in that system? Will it remain this way? I do not agree with it. I will do anything to see to it that it is accounted for and completed. This is what I would like to devote my next term to. Exactly this, because we must not leave this now. Otherwise, we will be disgusted with ourselves.

[TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC] Looking back at what has happened in Poland over the last few years since 1989, many people feel bitter. We could have followed a different path, the one the Czechs have chosen, for instance. What prevented us from doing that?

[Walesa] The Czech Republic will be no different from Poland. We have already tallied Hungary, which has done exactly what we have. And the Czechs will do the same.

[TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC] Will former comrades take over in the Czech Republic as well?

[Walesa] It is a rule. Pluralism and exercising freedom end at some point. The question now is: Who will be the first to awaken? I am certain it will be Poland. Because we had steering, the transformations were deeper. This must bring us profit. What seems to be the Czechs' success today will be their failure. I do not have the slightest doubt about that. We will check that. I hope that when you do the next interview with me you will say: "Walesa was right again."

[TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC] Many Poles look at the Czech Republic with envy.

[Walesa] Why?

[TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC] Because it did not relapse into communism, because...

[Walesa] When are their next elections?

[TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC] In one year?

[Walesa] We will see about the relapse then. You should ask me a different question today. Did they check where their former communists are, what they are doing, and what role are they playing? We know at least that, while they do not.

[TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC] What do you mean? The Czechs have carried out decommunization, lustration [lustracja], and mass privatization. They replaced their secret services...

[Walesa] What about their bugging affair? Who is doing that? They did not appoint their altar boys as generals, either. This is not so, not so! You must watch carefully, and that is what I am doing. Poland really is better off than the Czech Republic. These frequent changes of parliament and government must cause those who fall off to watch the others very closely, so as to prevent them from conspiring because they know what they think.

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This does not pay off in the short run, but in the long term—definitely yes. It is like chess—you have to predict a dozen moves ahead, from all angles. That is why Poland is in the lead. We are playing the game differently from other countries, and I am really very happy with that. Of course, there are challenges we must meet. And we will!

[TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC] Mr. President, the last issue. The inner political turmoil, not only that of the last few weeks, has pushed aside the most crucial issues—the Polish raison d'etat, including the Republic's sovereignty and external security. A statement issued by one of your ministers, Andrzej Olechowski, about the double loyalty standards of some representatives of our political elites raises fears. Do you share those fears? What do you intend to do to protect our sovereignty?

[Walesa] Mr. Olechowski has canceled all that. He made a mistake. Of course, this is a problem—only I see it on a different plane. Some politicians shun away from that topic; others do not always interpret it correctly. This is how I see it. We had the Communist International, and the people connected with it exist in every country. They know each other, just as they have in the past. Today, they do not want communism. They have become grand capitalists themselves. Yet they are thinking of doing various things together. Therefore, they can be suspected of things. For instance, of agentry, because they maintain mutual contacts. Yet agentry must serve some purpose. Do they want to restore the Soviet Union? Do they want to reinstate our enslavement to Moscow? Definitely not. That is out of the question. We must not forget, however, that they are in a very uncomfortable position. We recently had a deputy, a candidate for the post of defense minister, who was against NATO in communist times but who is now definitely for it. He was in a stupid situation. These people always stick together and stall for time. They are waiting for the elite to change so that everyone can forget who they were.

[TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC] Does that mean you do not see those threats? To the Polish raison d'etat...

[Walesa] No. We are living in changed times. The world today does not advocate conquering anyone and closing borders to secure prosperity. Today you have to open up more, be attractive, and encourage as many people as possible to come. That is why our era does not create such threats. Technology has made such a huge step forward that everything else has fallen into place. The raison d'etat is now in a different tone, in a separate class, it is about something else entirely. It is our bad luck that we are living at the turn of two epochs. We still remember the old one and have just begun to construct a new one. There are huge differences in levels—mental and general. This disturbs the rhythm of building anew. It is just like in the days of Moses—our nation should be led through the desert so that this generation could die. We do not have a desert here, but what we do have resembles one.

[TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC] What about external threats, from Russia? Are you not afraid, Mr. President, that imperial concepts will be reborn in Russia? After all, Chechnya is a sinister memento...

[Walesa] The contemporary world is like Lego blocks. The world, this free world, sets certain standards today: pluralism, human rights, democracy, a free-market economy, openness. These are the parameters. What do children do with Lego blocks? They construct buildings, some fantastic and wonderful, others weaker. Yet every block that does not fit is thrown out. It is the same with our countries. If one of them does not have the proper parameters, it will be isolated. That is why Russia has no choice. It has become normal. It must.

The problem, therefore, lies not only in defining the aim. The problem is time and cost. Of course, it may so happen that we will have several more Chechnyas. But that will not have an impact on overall development. Otherwise, we would have to throw out our television sets, satellite dishes, and computers and destroy the civilization we live in to turn the tide of events. But no one is capable of doing that. And Russia must carry on just like the rest of the civilized world.

[TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC] Mr. President, you have always evoked strong feelings. In the past, they were predominantly positive—when you were a symbol not only of "Solidarity" but also of Poland in its fight for independence. Today, these feelings are very often negative. We will not say the litany of grudges people hold against you. We would, however, like to ask you: What mistakes has the president of the Republic of Poland made according to Lech Walesa?

[Walesa] We have all made mistakes, but I did not make the mistakes you accuse me of. What you hold against me and publicize are not mistakes at all. You are not even doing this out of spite—you are simply unaware of certain arguments and facts. Your opinions are wrong, and I am afraid of the judgment history will pass. It will depend on how far the right facts and events are known because only they can be a basis for the judgment of each of us.

I have not made any mistakes on major issues. Establishing pluralism and democracy was the top priority. But how were we to do that if we had a "Solidarity" president, a "Solidarity" prime minister, and a "Solidarity" government? It would have been a shortcut to a monopoly—even worse than communism. But that is how it would have had to end. What could we have done to prevent that? Well, argue! That was the only solution! If I had not done that at the time, we would be in a shell today, we would have a helmet preventing our heads from growing. People! If I did make a mistake, it can only be that I believe in what I am doing. I established pluralism, I did not want to become a Kim Il-sung!

[TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC] One of the charges brought against you is your lack of ties to former

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associates. This is so unlike Marshall Pilsudski, who spoiled his "children" and was always loyal to them.

[Walesa] In Pilsudski's times, we were threatened by Moscow, and the country had to be unified after the partitions. Pilsudski had no other choice. But today, we need what I am doing. Pluralism stemming from unity, solidarity. Not chumminess. We are the children of this system. Children who saw what they were doing. Poor children, who want to prosper. What was said about the liberals? What is Pawlak being accused of today? We have a genetic defect. It is my role, my aim, to prevent it from becoming a danger. And that is what I am doing.

Foreign Minister Assesses Relations With Germany

AU1703074295 Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU in German 16 Mar 95 p 12

[Interview with Polish Foreign Minister Wladyslaw Bartoszewski by Edith Heller; place and date not given: "'Enormous Strides To Heal Wounds'"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Heller] You were a prisoner at Auschwitz and you fought in the underground "Home Army" and the Warsaw Uprising. What has made you so active in promoting Polish-German reconciliation?

[Bartoszewski] I took a critical view of the experiences of young people who were drawn into that terrible war—Poles, Jews, Russians, Ukrainians, and Germans. Most of them did not hate anyone—they suddenly found themselves in a situation they were forced into. The experience they gained over those five years probably shaped their entire future. I have tried, like Karl Dedecius, who was born in Lodz to German parents, was in Russian captivity, and was later active in disseminating Slavic culture without feeling any animosity, to learn lessons from the past. If that strikes anyone as being unusual, well then, that's that. Thinking people are always in a minority. I did not know when German unification would take place, but I never doubted that it would come about sooner or later. I saw no great opportunities to build bridges in the case of the GDR. I was invited to the FRG for the first time in May 1965 by the periodical DOKUMEMTE. Through those contacts, I made the acquaintance of another Germany. People such as Otto Roegele, Heinz Linnerz, Heinrich Boell, and Klaus von Bismarck had a European perspective. They knew that Europe does not end at the Rhine or even at the Oder. Europe means membership of the same cultural circle, the same mentality, a similar order of values and a similar assessment of historical tradition.

[Heller] What is your assessment of the current state of Polish-German relations?

[Bartoszewski] A few years ago, if one had told a German doctor, teacher, or engineer that one can cycle to Poland or go to the hairdresser there, or that Poland has some marvelous music, splendid literature, avant-garde art, and an interesting cinema, that Krakow is no less European than Dresden, and Warsaw is no less European than Magdeburg, if one had said all of that, then the response that one would have received would have been a faltering "perhaps": Perhaps everything will be that way one day, but things are not that way today, would have been the answer. The situation is different today—and not just because many of my German students have married Polish men. But, joking aside, this dimension of contacts between people shows how much progress we have already made. As far as political relations are concerned, everything is fine, thanks to the bold steps taken by Kohl and Mazowiecki in 1990, steps that have created foundations. If you think about where we were when I, together with Mazowiecki and the current ambassador in Cologne, Janusz Reiter, drew up the Polish-German appeal for the 50th anniversary of the outbreak of the war, then we have traveled a long way since then! We have only been able to develop our relations freely over the past six years. Six years after the end of the war, the Franco-German relationship was anything but normal. And, in the end, the Polish war experience—after that of the Jews and similar to that of the Russians—was the most tragic of mankind. However, one can expect German political atonement toward Poland to go beyond beautiful statements—although with their statements of 8 May 1985 and 1 August 1994, former president Richard von Weizsaecker and President Roman Herzhog made enormous strides toward healing old wounds and creating another image of German thinking in people's consciousness. We Poles also need more courage. As we think about the experiences of the past in connection with the 50th anniversary of the end of the war, now would be the right time to take such steps, but I do not want to anticipate anything.

[Heller] Czech President Vaclav Havel asked the Germans for forgiveness. How do you view that gesture? Would like to see President Lech Walesa take a similar step?

[Bartoszewski] The Czech president—like myself, he was awarded the German book trade's peace prize on my personal recommendation; he is someone with whom I enjoy a very cordial relationship—qualified his statement and thus provoked surprise from some and regret or annoyance from others. As far as my recommendations for the Polish president are concerned, let us wait until May. The foreign minister is only one of the people who contributes to the views formulated by a head of state. I can say that I have suggested to the president that he should consider whether it would not be necessary for him to appear in Germany in May.

[Heller] Do the Poles bear any guilt vis-a-vis the Germans?

[Bartoszewski] The Poles bear no responsibility whatsoever for World War II or for the numerous victims of the flight before the advancing front. However, everyone involved bears responsibility for those who fell victim to

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the expulsions. As a Christian, I am of the opinion that every person bears responsibility for his own actions. There is no collective guilt—neither on the part of the Germans nor on that of the Poles. However, as a historian, I am called upon to assess circumstances. There are also exonerating circumstances—for example, the state that expelled the Germans was not my state, and I was in prison at the same time. Nevertheless, concrete facts cannot leave me indifferent—for example, the article by Helga Hirsch that I read in DIE ZEIT about the arbitrary murder of Germans in the camp at Swietochlowice. Many Germans are surprised that we do not use the word "expulsion." However, the word is not commonly used in Polish. When the Polish inhabitants of Poznan and Torun were given only 15 minutes to leave their homes and could take only one suitcase with them in the winter of 1939, we called that "resettlement" and not expulsion. Thus, one has to take account of the fact that there is scarcely a Polish politician who can use the word "wypedzenie" [previous word in Polish] (expulsion) who would not be understood in our country. I am of the opinion that many Poles committed atrocities, and not just against Germans but also against other Poles and Ukrainians. In these kinds of historical situations, there are always people who will use such opportunities to gain wealth or give free rein to their sadistic instincts. However, in contrast to the Nazi state, there were no regulations in Poland requiring sadistic behavior. No orders were given to gas people or to commit mass murder. What was said, perhaps, was do what you like—and that was already bad enough. I personally would say: "I am terribly sorry" because I feel more shame if my countryman does something wrong as opposed to someone else, even if I am no nationalist. [passage omitted]

Daily Identifies Main Contenders for Presidency

WS1703124795 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 17 Mar 95 p 3

[Article by Wojciech Zaluska: "SLD: Kwasniewski? PSL: Pawlak? UW: Kuron? The Right: Strzembosz?; Who for the Belweder?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *Preelections within the political parties are entering a decisive phase. None of the groups have indicated their candidates as yet. We do, however, know who the main contenders are.*

In the Democratic Left Alliance [SLD], Aleksander Kwasniewski revealed his cards. "I am seriously considering making a go in the elections," he told REUTERS yesterday.

Kwasniewski Versus the Coalition

Several days ago, however, Prime Minister Jozef Oleksy returned to the concept of one joint candidate put up by the coalition. He did not give any names, but it cannot be Kwasniewski because the Polish Peasant Party [PSL] would not agree to that. In the wings at the Sejm, it is rumored that either the two gentlemen misunderstood each other, or the SLD has two concepts and two leaders. The latter would account for the haste with which Kwasniewski announced his candidacy. He wants to regain the upper hand and show who the boss is.

Pawlak Versus the Coalition

Waldemar Pawlak ceased to be the party dictator once his government fell. A new decision center has emerged, centered on Jozef Zych and Roman Jagielinski. Jagielinski is for a joint candidate of the coalition. Yet the majority of the "fields" want the party to run in the election on its own. And they are suggesting Zych.

Both variants point to a further strengthening of the anti-Pawlak opposition. The PSL leader will thus agree neither to a joint candidate (because he cannot become one) nor to Zych. "The speaker already has everything," a supporter of the former prime minister told us. To keep his position in the party, Pawlak must either run himself or put up one of his cohorts—for example, Senate Speaker Adam Struzik.

Kuron or Suchocka

The candidate of the Freedom Union [UW] will be appointed at the party congress scheduled for April. Jacek Kuron and Hanna Suchocka have the greatest chances of success. Kuron netted more votes at regional party assemblies. He is more likely to win. Suchocka's supporters are primarily advocates of "opening up to the right," the UW rightists and liberals. This is not the tenet. "We rather feel for the UW right, but we are supporting Kuron because ranking lists show he stands a greater chance of winning," we heard from several UW deputies.

Strzembosz or Walesa

Adam Strzembosz, president of the Supreme Court, is the most frequently mentioned candidate of the right. He is supported by lobby groups of five parties: Center Accord, Peasant Accord, the Conservative Party, the Conservative Coalition, and the Peasant Christian Party. Other groups have their own favorites. For the leaders of the Christian National Union [ZChN], it is the judge of the Constitutional Tribunal, Wojciech Laczkowski, but there also exists a strong pro-Walesa lobby within that group. The Union for Real Politics is forming committees in support of Janusz Korwin-Mikke.

Strzembosz has the best chance of winning. He is still hesitating, however. His supporters are trying to persuade him to announce his candidacy soon. The remaining parties would then have no choice but to support him. Once that happens, the right wing will try to acquire "Solidarity" votes.

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Sejm Amends Law on Radio, Television Broadcasting

LD1703094295 Warsaw PAP in Polish 0843 GMT 17 Mar 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Warsaw, 17 Mar—The Sejm today amended the law on Radio and Television Broadcasting, thus increasing the independence of the National Radio and Television Broadcasting Council [KRRiTV].

According to the amendment, members of the council and not the president, as it was before, elect the chairman of the KRRiTV from among themselves. The council may recall its chairman by a two-thirds majority.

Daily Comments on Economic Slowdown

WS1703124695 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 17 Mar 95 p 5

[Commentary by Krzysztof Bien: "Economy Slows Down"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The economic results noted in the previous month—even if we take into account the fact that it was the shortest month of the year—are, unfortunately, beginning to confirm what companies reported even earlier in their answers to questionnaires prepared by the Main School of Commerce: The economy is slowing down the rate of development. It looks as though there is no longer a seasonal decline in economic activity.

To date, the main argument that helped present the good condition of the Polish economy was the impressive dynamics in industrial production. In comparison with February of last year, it is still characterized by a two-digit index. For two months, however, a declining trend has been observed in this area. The same holds true of exports, which have been the locomotive of our economic development so far. In comparison with January last year (the Central Office of Statistics, GUS, does not have the February figures yet), the growth dynamics reached over 35 percent. However, if we allow for the results achieved in the individual months, we can see that also in this area there has been a regression, which began last November.

GUS also notes an increase in employment and a drop in unemployment. Again, however, if we allow for the decline in production, including production for export, this can be a reason for satisfaction only in social terms. From an economic point of view, this means a drop in labor efficiency. Due to the protection measures applied in the economic policy, lower efficiency does not yet affected companies' finances (their productivity keeps on increasing); however, it certainly does affect inflation. Even though the price increase in February was only half as high as in February, it should be remembered that it was at the same time twice as high as in January of last year—despite the fact that wage increases were reduced to 1 percent in February. In addition, after only the second month of the year it has already become absolutely obvious that it will not be possible to implement the main budget plan this year—namely, keeping inflation down at only 16.9 percent by the end of the year.

All of this indicates that the economy is entering a difficult period of maintaining a high level of economic development, while our economic politicians are clearly losing control over inflation. Thus, politicians will have to make up their minds. An efficient fight against inflation calls for departing from the policy of protecting all domestic manufacturers. A continuation of the current policy will further fuel inflation and impede implementation of the budget plans. In comparison with this problem, defending the higher tax rates, put in question by the Constitutional Tribunal, should be regarded merely as the obstinate behavior of an offended author of the budget.

Agriculture Minister on Policies, Outlook

WS1603140095 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 13 Mar 95 p 8

[Interview with Roman Jagielinski, deputy prime minister and minister of agriculture and the food industry, by Edmund Szot; place and date not given: "I Wish Poland Were Like Bavaria"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Szot] Do you agree with the statement that a real conflict between towns and the countryside is yet to come?

[Jagielinski] No, I definitely do not agree with such a view. In my opinion, the conflict between towns and the countryside is already over. I will try to influence the public in such a way as to make it possible for both sides to understand each other's arguments. One of those who has contributed to the agreement between towns and the countryside is Prime Minister Jozef Oleksy. We will try to explain the problems arising between producers and consumers as they emerge, and, even though they have their origins in the economy, it is easier to cope with them when it is known what has caused them. I will attempt to resolve problems of the countryside by trying to obtain the approval of all society.

[Szot] How should we interpret what you told deputies during the hearing at the Sejm Committee of Agriculture and Food Industry—that you believe the most important thing is to "see to it that appropriate sums of money are earmarked to agriculture from the budget." What exactly does the word "appropriate" mean, and how will this money be spent?

[Jagielinski] The fundamental duty of an agriculture minister is to ensure appropriate sums of money for the agricultural sector from the state budget. By "appropriate sums" I understand 3 percent of the budget's total expenditures. Right now it receives less than 2.5 percent. This money would contribute to the biological progress

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and the establishment of agricultural market institutions; it would be spent on the promotion of food products on the domestic market as well as on foreign markets, on reorganization of vocational high schools, and on a few other projects. Another element of our policy will be to take good advantage of the money provided by sources other than the budget itself—in the area of agriculture, there are many foundations that can provide considerable support for peasants and that are actually doing this.

[Szot] Your statements suggest that you appreciate the role played by the agricultural market and the market mechanisms in the economy. At the same time, however, you say that you are going to make efforts to extend the area where minimum prices and compensatory fees are applied, which, after all, contradicts the principles of a market economy.

[Jagielinski] Now, wait a moment. The concept of minimum prices does not at all go against the principles of a market economy. My understanding of a minimum price is the price that is set in contracts concluded between producers and processing plants; this price should be negotiated by a peasant self-government as well as by strong unions of producers in a given branch of industry. I have never supported the idea of extending the area where compensatory fees should be applied. I believe that their role should be gradually limited and that they should be used only to regulate the transactions involving certain kinds of merchandise. The reason such fees are necessary is that the Polish market must be protected from an uncontrolled inflow of highly subsidized products from abroad.

[Szot] You support development of agricultural commodity exchanges [gieldy spozywcze] and wholesale trade in agriculture. However, Dutch experts, for instance, say that the main idea about agricultural commodity exchanges is not that a network of smaller or bigger market places should be set up. Such exchanges and objects located there should belong to producers.

[Jagielinski] I subscribe to this opinion as well, but you are barking up the wrong tree. At any rate, we should not repeat the mistake that was made in Poznan, where the local agricultural commodity exchange is not owned by peasants and gardeners.

[Szot] You also support the idea of lessening the debt burden of the food-processing industry.

[Jagielinski] Yes, I do, because this is in the interests of peasants themselves if the plants they supply with their products can pay the bills submitted by them as quickly as possible. Unfortunately, the financial restructuring of Bank Gospodarki Zywnosciowej and cooperative banks is not taking place as quickly as we would like. Aside from that, there are other restructuring methods: settlement proceedings with other banks, conversion of companies' debts into their shares, etc. Anyway, right now the situation in the food-processing industry is better than it was a year ago.

[Szot] This is probably due to substantial increases in food prices, is it not?

[Jagielinski] Yes, that is right, but peasants did not benefit from this price increase. The disparity in their revenues became even greater last year.

[Szot] How do you intend to improve the agrarian structure?

[Jagielinski] We decided in the ministry on 12 March that loans for land purchases would be made available. The interest rate will be equal to one-fourth of the rediscount loan, which right now is 7.75 percent. The repayment of the loan would begin after two years; also, the loan would be paid off in installments over 15 years. Because the debtors would pay less than the actual interest rates, the additional money would be provided by the Agency for Restructuring and Modernization of Agriculture. The loans would be extended in cases of purchases of up to 200 conversion [przeliczeniowy] hectares. In the future, a land bank should be set up that would take over all transactions involving land. Such an establishment existed before World War II, and similar institutions can be found in the EU.

[Szot] Do you think loans alone will sufficiently stimulate changes in the agrarian structure?

[Jagielinski] It is obvious this will not be enough. The loans may, however, give rise to those changes. Other things are also needed to speed up changes in the agrarian structure. When the profitability of agricultural production improves, prices of land will go up; then, if a peasant decides to sell 3 or 4 hectares of land, he may get enough money to set up a shop—a carpenter's shop, for example—or he may build a house or buy an apartment in a town nearby. Only then will the entire machine of structural transformations be put in motion. However, we will have to wait a little while for that because it turns out that one can hold on to a farm for a dozen years without investing any money in its development, and only when a new generation comes must this farm be sold.

[Szot] On several occasions, you supported the much-debated concept, in line with which the land left over by former state farms should be brought into cultivation by people who settle on that land. Where would the state get the money for that?

[Jagielinski] Some of the money would be provided by the World Bank, which wants to help us bring this land into cultivation in this way. However, some of the money would also come from a land cultivation fund, which would be established by the Ministry of Agriculture and Food Economy, the Ministry of Housing and Construction, and the Finance Ministry. This fund will be set up from money provided by the real estate tax, and it would help not only peasants but also those who want to settle in towns in which the Soviet Army was once stationed.

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[Szot] Many people believe that you would like Polish agriculture to be competitive with agriculture in the EU. At the same time, you stress that you would like to avoid making the mistakes that were made in some Western countries.

[Jagielinski] If we want Polish agriculture to be truly competitive, we must boost its productivity and improve the quality of its products. I believe that quality will be improved when agricultural commodity exchanges start operating. However, we would certainly like to avoid the mistakes that were made in some Western countries while a common agricultural policy was being implemented. Let us take France, for instance, where large areas of the country became almost totally deserted. Another mistake made in the EU's common agricultural policy were the excessive subsidies to agricultural production. As I see it, the areas where the state should provide its assistance are the following: development of infrastructure, stimulating regional policies, as well as supporting agriculture in mountainous regions and in regions near mountains.

[Szot] Opponents of your concept of agricultural policy might accuse you of trying to increase unemployment in the countryside.

[Jagielinski] The changes that I am proposing will, after all, take place gradually. Our policy envisions creating new workplaces in the countryside. This is why the Committee for the Development of Rural Areas has been set up; Deputy Minister Katarzyna Duczkowska-Malysz was appointed its secretary. It will cooperate with the Ministry of Labor and Social Policy. The primary task of the committee will be creating new workplaces in the countryside. I am now talking about 120,000 or even 150,000 new jobs every year. It is necessary to find new jobs for people who will no longer work in agriculture.

[Szot] Which policies implemented by your predecessor should be continued and developed, and which should be abandoned?

[Jagielinski] I believe I should continue nearly all of his policies, with the exception of differentiating entities that are operating in agriculture—that is, dividing them into peasants, farmers, big landowners, etc. I want to create good conditions for the development of all those who will be efficient.

[Szot] A dozen years or so ago the situation in the Polish countryside looked entirely different: There were nearly twice as many cattle as there are now; peasants had four times as many sheep, and they bought six times as many tractors. In addition, the use of mineral fertilizers is now only half as intense as it was at that time. Bigger were the harvested crops of grain and potatoes; relatively higher were also peasants' incomes. How do you imagine the situation of the Polish countryside and Polish agriculture in, say, 15 years' time?

[Jagielinski] I also remember those times very well. However, right now we should not try to go to extraordinary lengths to recreate what once used to be. The Polish countryside is today about to face different challenges. I imagine that in a dozen years or so it will resemble the Bavarian countryside. That is right—not Danish or Dutch but Bavarian, or perhaps Austrian. In these countries, there is enough room for both big and small farms, the countryside is functioning, and people are not leaving. I would also like the Polish countryside to accept the Bavarian and Austrian standards of cleanliness; I guess that this will be quite a bit of a problem in some regions of our country. We will do our best to make it easier for Polish peasants to become familiar with the life-style of the Bavarian countryside, and we are already developing contacts to achieve this. We will send to Bavaria our school, and perhaps, our university students, as well as delegations of our peasants. This will certainly help them adopt some of those models.

Milewski: Civilian Control Over Army Needed

WS1703131695 Poznan WPROST in Polish 12 Mar 95 p 4

[Article by Jerzy J. Milewski, former acting Polish minister of defense: "The Army in a Shell"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Despite the fact that we have been undergoing a transformation of the system for five years now, the Army is still unable to shake off the stigma of the previous era; it remains within a shell of sorts, too tightly isolated from society. Last year, it was in even deeper hiding, where it was driven by, among other things, the helplessness of parliament following the Drawsko incident.

In Poland, just as in other postcommunist states, no method has been developed for extracting the Army from old structures and procedures. We act on our intuitions. When we depart from slogans to take specific action, however, complications arise. Still, the Army is slowly adapting to the standards of a democratic state. Not everyone realizes that civilian control is not merely a passing whim and that it does not make any sense to resist it by using historical arguments or pointing out the singularness of Poland.

NATO has not presented us with a list of conditions we must meet to become a member of the alliance. It is true that even a swift adaptation to Western standards—be it the clarity of the budget or civilian control over the Army—does not necessarily imply that we will receive a pass to join NATO. We may be sure, however, that the lack of such solutions will definitely eliminate us from the group of countries waiting in line to be accepted. We must give our supporters strong arguments. At the same time, we cannot aid the adversaries of our integration by making rash moves.

It is in the interests of the Army to open itself up before its own society. Polish taxpayers have not yet learned to count their money exactly. For the time being, fortunately for the Army, they continue to harbor the belief that was shaped over the decades that the Army must

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have money, period. Some citizens even continue to believe that the state is paying for it, not they themselves. This will change any moment now, however; the taxpayers will want to know how their money is being spent. The Army, enclosed in its shell, will be unable to explain that.

Meanwhile, attempts at introducing democratic solutions are wrongly viewed by some high-ranking commanders as a manifestation of distrust for their qualifications as soldiers and a coup on a nonpolitical but patriotic Army. The feeling of threat occasionally spreads to some of the military circles. In the defense of their own narrow-mindedly understood interests, some of the generals and high-ranking commanders make the mistake of taking action that, in the long term, has no chance of success and will, moreover, backfire on them and the entire Army. People forget about historical sentiments when they speak of security and defense. The arguments that the Army brought this country its freedom in 1918 and that the Miracle on the Vistula, Lenino, and Monte Cassino followed are losing in importance. Unless fundamental changes take place within the Army in the future, social frustration will begin to build up. And there are many sensitive issues: money, basic military service, interpersonal relations within the Army...

Democratic control does not imply that lieutenants, colonels, and generals are to be replaced by people who are unqualified to train soldiers. Civilian control means shaping defense policy, the basic elements of which are military structures, finances, and cadres, by democratically elected representatives of the state. There is thus room for both generals and politicians. It is important for both the Army and the country that they do not change places.

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Existence of 'New' Secret Service Revealed

AU1603145395 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 13 Mar 95 p 3

[Article by Gilda Lazar: "The Ministry of Justice Reveals the Existence of the Eighth Intelligence Service!"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Until now, everybody seemed to agree—this was the official version, too—that seven secret services are operating in Romania. But here comes a big surprise: In a recent press communique, Minister of Justice Iosif Chiuzbaian (or rather, his spokesman Teodor Rus) blurted out that there is a new (!?) secret service, namely the "Independent Operational Service [SIO]." This service, although it calls itself "independent," functions within the structures of the General Directorate of Prisons [DGP]; therefore, it is subordinate to the Ministry of Justice! Consequently, one may say without fear of being wrong that, aside from Messrs. Magureanu [Virgil Magureanu, director of the Romanian Intelligence Service—SRI], Talpes [Ioan Talpes, head of the Foreign Intelligence Service—SIE], and Taracila [Doru Ioan Taracila, minister of interior], Mr. Chiuzbaian, too, heads a secret service! "This service was created and carries out its activity in accordance with Law No. 51/1991 on Romania's national security." Therefore, on the basis of this broad and generous rationalization, one can set up as many secret services as there are ministries and central institutions. In other words, so many fiefdoms, so many secret services.

According to the explanations kindly supplied by the Ministry of Justice spokesman, "The SIO has well defined prerogatives, limited to preventing disturbances among prisoners (in other words, legalizing the setting up of informer networks in prisons—our editorial note) and protecting data and information from the DGP system, which are state secrets."

We wonder: What state secrets might the "DGP system" contain? After all, the prison inhabitants were sentenced in the wake of public trials. Should one interpret the aforementioned quote as a confirmation of the fact that there are still political prisoners in Romania? [passage omitted]

Funar Pleased With Deadlock in Negotiations

AU1703125495 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1100 GMT 17 Mar 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The PUNR [Romanian National Unity Party] held an extraordinary national conference in Brasov this morning to mark the fifth anniversary of the setting up of that party.

PUNR President Gheorghe Funar said that the support given the current government no longer has to be withdrawn [as Funar threatened recently to do]. Funar voiced satisfaction over the way the PUNR position was highlighted during yesterday's talks in Budapest between the heads of Romanian and Hungarian diplomacy. Funar also declared himself pleased with the fact that the Romanian-Hungarian treaty has not yet been signed in its final form.

During his speech Funar also reviewed the PUNR's relations and agreements with other political parties. In this context he expressed regret over the fact that, so far, no protocol on cooperation at the local level has been able to be signed signed with the PDSR [Social Democracy Party of Romania].

Funar said that after yesterday's talks with the PDAR [Democratic Agrarian Party of Romania], there is still a chance that this party will also sign the cooperation protocol concluded between the PDSR, PUNR, PRM [Greater Romania Party], and PSM [Socialist Party of Labor].

Our correspondent Dan Preda reports that a PUNR press conference is due to begin soon in the hall of the Aro hotel in Brasov.

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PM Silajdzic Leaves Islamabad for Beijing

LD1503223195 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 15 Mar 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Bosnia-Herzegovina Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic left Islamabad this evening for Beijing on a working visit to the PRC. In the course of his two-day visit Silajdzic is to discuss with Chinese officials the development of bilateral relations between the two countries and the role that the PRC, as a permanent UN Security Council member, may play in the peace process in Bosnia-Herzegovina. The prime minister is taking to Beijing a personal message from Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency, to Chinese President Jiang Zemin.

Bosnian Croat Leader Speaks in Washington

LD1603214095 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 16 Mar 95

[Speech by Kresimir Zubak, president of the Croat republic of Herceg-Bosna, in Washington D.C. on 16 March—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] Thank you, Mr. Christopher. I shall try to stick to the two minutes of speech set out in the protocol.

Ladies and gentlemen, we are again in Washington, the place where we, the representatives of the Croat and the Muslim-Bosniak nations, with the help of our American friends signed an agreement, which brought about an end to the war between us—the senseless war—and which should help us build our common and democratic homeland on the basis of full equality of our nations and with all liberties for all citizens of our homeland.

A year has passed and we are still at the beginning of developing the Federation, and this is the reason why some are expressing skepticism in the possible realization of this project.

I personally believe that we have done a lot, which can be seen in the fact that the conflict between us has ended and that we are not going to and do not have the intention of resolving our relations by military means.

When one takes into account that the war is still going in our homeland, that we still do not have a generally accepted formula for a comprehensive solution to the crisis in Bosnia-Herzegovina, and when one takes into account that for the first time in history our two nations have become political partners due to organize our state community, to harmonize our interests, and to build our mutual relations on the basis of the principle of consensus, then I believe that we have done quite a lot and that we could not have done more.

This is an exceptionally complex and complicated business and I do not wish to burden you with concrete problems which we face while implementing the agreement, but we have agreed and accept international arbitration and we accept and appreciate decisions made by arbiter Roberts Owen.

We thank you on your initiative and on forming the club of countries which are friends of our Federation. This will help us resolve more quickly and more easily our conflicting relations and overcome difficulties and remove the consequences of the war.

We need patience, tolerance, and respect for everything we are doing, and hence our friends must also be patient so that we do not go back to the beginning.

I thank you Mr. Christopher, I thank President Clinton, the American Government and the American people on everything you have done for the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation. Thank you.

Croats Blame Dudakovic for Abduction of Santic

LD1603131695 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1200 GMT 16 Mar 95

[FBIS Translated Text] At its session in Mostar the presidential council of the Croat republic of Herceg-Bosna endorsed a report on the abduction of General Vlado Santic submitted by Gen. Tihomir Blaskic, chief of the Croatian Defense Council [HVO] General Staff. The presidential council, chaired by Ivan Bender in the absence of Kresimir Zubak, is at the moment discussing the report on the talks and the agreement signed in Bonn. Ivan Kristic is reporting from Mostar:

According to information available to Gen. Blaskic, Major Gen. Vlado Santic, commander of the HVO units of the Bihac region, was arrested and taken to Hotel Sedra in Bihac by Colonel Hamdija Avdic, head of the military police of the 502d Brigade, on the orders of Gen. Atif Dudakovic, commander of the 5th Corps of the Muslim Army. This happend on 8 March, and since then nothing has been heard about Gen. Santic's whereabouts, Gen. Tihomir Blaskic said at the session.

Gen. Dudakovic has been directly blamed for the few details that are known about the fate of Gen. Santic. The order itself most likely came from the very top of the Muslim political leadership.

The presidential council has asked the Muslim side to submit a report on this unfortunate event, which can in no way be seen as an isolated incident. It is rather an attack on the honor and dignity of the Croatian people since Gen. Santic was the man who organized and commanded the forces defending against the chetnik aggression in that part of Bosnia-Herzegovina. In addition, Santic is deputy chairman of the Chamber of Deputies of the Croat republic of Herceg-Bosna and of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Croatian Democratic Union's executive—two legitimate institutions of the Croat people of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

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Criticism was also voiced of the media in Croatia, especially of Croatian TV, for airing the views of those responsible for the fate of Gen. Santic while at the same time ignoring official reaction by the ministries and authorities of the Croat republic of Herceg-Bosna.

SDA: No 'Political Background'

AU1603173895 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 15 Mar 95

[Report by Samir Huseinovic on the SDA news conference in Sarajevo on 16 March—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Huseinovic] Mirsad Ceman, secretary general of the Party of Democratic Action [SDA], stated the party's position regarding the Bonn agreement. The SDA supports all initiatives that will contribute to the speedier implementation of the Federation Constitution.

[Ceman] We see this agreement as a step forward in the implementation of the Federation Constitution and the setting up of the Federation. [The agreement includes] solutions that could be characterized as an interpretation of the various points and elements of the earlier agreements and the constitution. It is to be expected that the political will behind the agreement will give fast results—that is, lasting effects in the definite establishing of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation.

I have to say that the SDA is already doing and will do everything to implement the signed agreement and everything that follows from it [words indistinct] but appropriate measures are being taken to ensure its implementation.

[Huseinovic] It is true that there are certain undefined points in the agreement, but it is also true that in certain elements, the dilemmas present hitherto have been eliminated, Ceman said. It is certain that the next session of the Federation and Republican Assemblies—at which the agreement should be ratified—will also mark the start of its implementation. The SDA assesses that the deadlines specified by the agreement are perhaps somewhat tight, but if necessary measures are taken, it will be possible to implement the provisions of the agreement. Keeping in mind the positive upward trend in the implementation of the Federation, which means that there is no stepping back from the Federation [changes thought] this fact implies that the set deadlines are not the most important issue, not as important as the fact that the process is on an upward swing. All critical points in the text of the agreement can be narrowed down to (?several) issues. For example, the agreement does not mention solutions regarding the defense law or the Interior Ministry, it rather expresses the political stance that these projects should be [words indistinct].

On this occasion, dissatisfaction was voiced on account of the 15 March Social Democratic Party's news conference in Tuzla, when [words indistinct] of political parties, and when the two ruling parties were accused of being responsible for the situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina because they sign one thing and then demand another. I would like to reiterate, said Ceman, that the SDA has always made it clear that it was opposed to the partition of Bosnia-Herzegovina on ethnic grounds. The Social Democratic Party's statement is the result of either elementary ignorance or malice, and in view of the repeated explanations of our views, it could even be called impertinence.

Ismet Grbo commented on the protest note regarding the Santic case sent by Dario Kordic, president of the Croatian Democratic Community in Bosnia-Herzegovina, and stressed that the SDA believes that this should not be politicized, since this case does not have a political background. We are in favor of shedding light on this case but in line with the investigation launched by the civilian and military authorities of Bosnia-Herzegovina. The public has been informed about this. We think that Kordic's protest is not an appropriate means of communication between partners, since the SDA and its president bear no responsibility for the Santic case. [Words indistinct] although we do not wish to prejudge things, that the attack on General Santic was inspired by circles that are enemies of the federation. We believe that this event will not affect the increasingly close relations between the Bosniaks and the Croats, concluded Dr. Ismet Grbo.

Minister: Mladic Enjoys Absolute Power in Pale

AU1603195995 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 16 Mar 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Minister Hasan Muratovic, chairman of the State Commission for Relations With the United Nations, today met with (Michel Mussali), head of the UN Civilian Sector for the former Yugoslavia, and Enrique Aguilar, head of the UN Civilian Sector for Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Today's meeting was a continuation of the talks initiated by the UN secretary general's special envoy Yasushi Akashi during his visit to Sarajevo and Pale, which was an attempt to revive the implementation of the cessation of hostilities agreement. Mussali and Aguilar yesterday visited Pale, despite Muratovic's warning issued to high-ranking UN officers that chances of achieving anything useful were very remote.

It is our understanding that the so-called political structures in Pale no longer make any decisions. All the power is concentrated in the military leadership—that is, General Ratko Mladic—Minister Muratovic told B-H Press. Today's talks focused on fresh attempts to convene meetings at which progress would be achieved in the realization of the cessation of hostilities agreement, the implementation of which has been completely blocked by the Serbian side. The UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR], stressed Muratovic, is also to blame for standstills in the implementation, particularly because it brought Serbian liaison officers to the territory of the Federation

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without obtaining approval from the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army and the Croatian Defense Council. UNPROFOR is requested to immediately withdraw the liaison officers from Gornji Vakuf, as was done in Tuzla.

In addition to the aforementioned issues, particular attention was devoted to the problem of the arrested Merhamet [humanitarian organization] employees in Banja Luka and other towns in the Bosnian Krajina. Namely, the Serbs have arrested all of Merhamet's employees in the Bosnian Krajina and have stolen all the goods and other property.

The UN officials were once again asked to resume airdrop operations, which were the most successful aspect of the UN's general performance in Bosnia-Herzegovina. The operation was suspended due to chetnik threats to planes, which is the pinnacle of humiliation suffered by the United Nations hitherto.

UN: Two Vehicles Hijacked in Serb-Held Area

AU1703093095 Paris AFP in English 0918 GMT 17 Mar 95

[FBIS Transcribed Excerpt] Sarajevo, March 17 (AFP)—Two UN vehicles were hijacked in separate incidents in Serb-held territory Thursday evening, the latest in a series of such robberies, a UN Protection Force (UNPROFOR) spokesman said here Friday.

In the first incident, a vehicle with UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) licence plates was seized near "Sierra One", a Serb checkpoint on the road leading from besieged Sarajevo to Kiseljak, 20 kilometers (12 miles) to the west, Major Pierre Chavancy said. The three people aboard the vehicle walked back to UN-held positions. An hour later, in the same area, a UN civilian police vehicle was hijacked, Chavancy said.

On Wednesday, a car driven by UN military observers was hijacked at gunpoint by the Serbs in the same area. The car-jacking, by five armed men assessed to be Serbs, occurred just 200 meters (yards) from "Sierra One" and the armed men disappeared with the car in the direction of the checkpoint.

UNPROFOR, which refers to four of nine Serb checkpoints around Sarajevo as the "Sierras", has repeatedly lost vehicles and equipment, including weapons, radio transmitters and flak jackets, either to Serb forces at the checkpoints or, more recently, to "armed gangs" lurking nearby. [passage omitted]

Because of such repeated hijackings, UNPROFOR will restrict the movement of its vehicles, especially after dark, and will attempt to ensure they drive in convoy when possible, UNPROFOR spokesman Major Herve Gourmelon said. Meanwhile, the Serbs were continuing to restrict the movement of UN convoys into Sarajevo and the humanitarian air bridge into town was expected to remain down until Monday, in the wake of attacks against aircraft at the airport, Gourmelon said.

First 6 Months of Tuzla-Podrinje Canton Assessed

AU1603201695 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 16 Mar 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Izet Hadzic, governor of the Tuzla-Podrinje Canton, today held a news conference. He assessed the first six months of the canton's existence, and stressed that, despite periods of stagnation, the canton has generally taken shape.

Commenting on the Bonn Agreement, Hadzic stressed that it opens new possibilities for the Tuzla-Podrinje Canton, but he also expressed disappointment because the agreement (?continues to maintain two defense systems). He reiterated that this duality—caused by two different financing sources—would result in two economic systems. Governor Hadzic used the occasion to convey to the citizens that they do not need to worry once the cease-fire agreement expires because our troops can only liberate new territories.

Addressing the issue of forming new municipalities, Hadzic stressed that a high level of political unity was present in the canton and that this issue would be solved in line with the law. If this issue were to be decided in a referendum, Hadzic believes that the citizens would vote against new municipalities for economic reasons. Hadzic also announced increased activity on opening Tuzla Airport in order to help Bosnia-Herzegovina encircled areas, Srebrenica, for example.

The canton's administrative [word indistinct] will be at least 30 percent smaller in comparison to the prewar period, stressed Hadzic, and denied claims that certain ministries were spending lavishly.

Addressing problems in the sphere of housing policy—particularly pronounced because of the great number of refugees and displaced persons—Hadzic stressed that the cantonal commission would make a list of the available housing and review the already allocated apartments. These measures should result in appropriate solutions in the sphere of housing policy.

HVO Chief Views Joint Staff, Goals, Strategy

AU1603123595 Zagreb VECERNJI LIST in Serbo-Croatian 11 Mar 95 p 7

[Interview with General Tihomir Blaskic, chief of the General Staff of the Croatian Defense Council, by Jozo Pavkovic; place and date not given: "We Can Prevent Any Serbian Maneuver"]

[FBIS Translated Text] General Tihomir Blaskic, chief of the General Staff of the Croatian Defense Council [HVO], is one of the three generals—beside him there are also Gen. Janko Bobetko, chief of the General Staff of the Croatian Army [HV] and Gen. Rasim Delic, commander in chief of the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina [B-H Army]—who can answer the question why the foundation of the joint staff of the HV, HVO and B-H

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Army was agreed upon. We asked him to explain the reason for founding the joint staff, under which auspices, and in what way those three armies will operate.

[Blaskic] On many occasions it has been emphasized that the greatest achievement in the establishment of cooperation between the HVO and the B-H Army is the cease-fire agreement reached on 23 February 1994. The agreement brought about the cessation of clashes, and finally, as a result of that cooperation, the meeting at the level of the commanders, that is, chiefs of the General Staffs of the HV, HVO and B-H Army was held. We have defined new forms of cooperation, coordination and commanding, all this in order to be able to resist the joint enemy in a more efficient way. The joint staff is a sort of announcement of coordinated actions taken by our forces in case the Serbian side continues to disregard the cease-fire agreement.

Against the Aggressor by Coordinated Actions

[Blaskic continues] In addition, the essence of the joint staff is the possibility for us to resist by coordinated actions the most radical option that could occur after the departure of UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] from the Republic of Croatia. Which means, if the Serbs, who have already proposed partnership to the Muslims in joint fighting against the Croats, continue the aggression, we shall know how to respond. In the agreement we have determined our priorities, we have agreed upon ways of informing, logistical support, and neutral supervision of the situation at the borders. By forming the joint staff we have shown that the agreement provides an impetus to the more expeditious implementation of the Washington Agreement.

[Pavkovic] The agreement was reached in Zagreb. It has caused a great political echo in the whole of Europe, particularly among the member states of the Contact Group.

[Blaskic] It was not our intention to threaten anyone by this agreement, not even the aggressor. Our intention was to reconfirm that we support the peaceful settlement of the problems in former Bosnia-Herzegovina.

[Pavkovic] Those who have criticized Herceg-Bosna and the HVO, saying that they are to blame for the conflict between the B-H Army and the HVO, will say that the agreement could have been reached much earlier.

[Blaskic] Perhaps it should have come earlier, but we have to be realistic. The agreement was achieved when it was actually possible. Even at the first meeting of this type, as far back as 4 July 1994, we made efforts to resolve the questions on which it is possible to harmonize views. We are aware that not all the issues have been settled yet, that the problems regarding the concept of army organization are yet to be solved. The General Staff will continue to strengthen the HVO, that will be the warrantor of the Croats' survival in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Response to Both Knin and Pale

[Pavkovic] Was the forming of the joint staff also a political response to the Serbian alliance between Pale and Knin?

[Blaskic] The agreement has its weight with regard to pressures coming from abroad, but also with regard to threats from the Serbian side. Which is to say, it is in any case a response to both Knin and Pale, by which it has been made clear to them that we shall not experience again what happened in 1990, when our unarmed people faced the third greatest military force in Europe, for whom it was enough to start up their tanks and discharge several shells to conquer some of our territory.

[Pavkovic] If the Serbs attack Croatia, will the Federal Army help it?

[Blaskic] I think that the HV would not need help in that case because it is strong enough, but if the war escalates and if there happen to be attempts to resolve the situation by the war option, it is certain that the vertical and the horizontal attack of the Serbian forces will be prevented.

Many of our territories have not yet been liberated, and this will be our goal. Therefore, the goal of the joint staff and the coordination between the HVO and B-H Army is precisely to improve our combat readiness and prevent any maneuvers by the Serbian forces.

One Should Not Dramatize Things

[Pavkovic] Do you expect a joint meeting of all warring factions?

[Blaskic] I have answered positively to the proposal made by the UNPROFOR commander in Bosnia-Herzegovina, Gen. Rupert Smith, that a meeting on the level of army commanders of all three sides could possibly be organized, on condition that the meeting take place in Bihac, and that the implementation of the cease-fire agreement be discussed there, because Bihac is precisely the region where that agreement is least observed.

[Pavkovic] How will UNPROFOR's departure from Croatia influence the situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina?

[Blaskic] One should not dramatize things. In Bosnia-Herzegovina nothing extraordinary will happen. The departure of UNPROFOR from Croatia presupposes the world's commitment to finding a way out, because it incessantly declares that is supports a peaceful settlement. So if it really does, I think that coincides with what the Croatian leadership incessantly indicates. As for the possible escalation of the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina, it has already happened.

Organization of HVO

[Pavkovic] How far have you gone in the organization of the HVO?

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[Blaskic] The HVO units are going through a process of reorganization that is not yet over. The General Staff is organized as an operative expert body. Certain departments have been formed that the General Staff did not have before, and the organizational consolidation of all sectors is finished. We have arranged and organized our units on the basis of maneuvering space.

We are building the foundations of our organization on the traditions of the Croatian home guard [Domobrani—the Croatian army in World War II]. In addition, we have set tasks and operative priorities for every corps' area of responsibility. We also have the unit for parachute landing. All brigades are capable of carrying out their assignments even in the most difficult weather conditions. The best test of our organization was the Kupres operation and the operations on the Livno front, which resulted in huge successes within quite a short time.

In addition, we are speedily working on the training of commissioned and noncommissioned officers, as well as guardsmen. Our intention is to create the professional soldier, trained and capable of carrying out any assignment. I should like to take this opportunity to greet all HVO soldiers.

[Box, p 7]

[Pavkovic] How far have you gone in the organization of the Federal Army?

[Blaskic] There are some differences regarding the conceptual approach to the leadership of the army. The HVO has presented and defined its attitudes in that regard—the organization should be similar to that of the NATO forces. We shall insist on its organization as a two-component army, composed of the Muslim-Bosniak units and the HVO units. As for the headquarters, we have agreed that it should be moved to Novi Travnik. We shall also endeavor to broaden the authority of the joint staff, particularly when speaking of the cooperation with corps' zones of responsibility and corps themselves, the distribution of information and coordination.

[Pavkovic] Can the Federal Army be organized at all without the law on defense, which the Constitutional Assembly of the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina has not yet passed?

[Blaskic] There are several laws to be passed, not only the law on defense, which acts as a brake upon the process. It is one of the crucial questions. However, that should not prevent us from resolving the questions on which there are no considerable differences in our attitudes.

[Box, p 7]

[Pavkovic] Journalists, particularly the foreign ones, claim in their reports that the last weeks of the feeble peace are being counted down. Everybody is talking about war.

[Blaskic] Even though the cease-fire agreement was signed, the Serbs have endeavored ever since to win the battle against time, and to move the focus from the battlefield to the political front. They have insisted on implementing the agreement in the regions where it suits them most, and even on restoring the old state regarding the demarcation lines.

They have been trying to accomplish by political means what they could not accomplish by military means. They have not had any good will to observe the cease-fire, which is best seen in the region of Bihac, and it is certain that they will continue military operations in order to "settle" the war as soon as possible. I think that time is working against them. Therefore, they are forced to make rushed decisions.

As for the springtime war, we soldiers always prepare ourselves for the worst option. However, I think that the international community has not used up all possibilities of forcing the Serbian side to accept certain solutions that can be achieved in a peaceful way.

Srpska Republic Rejects Hague Accusations

95BA0185D Belgrade VECERNJE NOVOSTI in Serbo-Croatian 18 Feb 95 p 4

[Article by TANJUG: "The Constitution Prohibits Extradition"]

[FBIS Translated Text] In connection with the indictment before the International Court in The Hague filed on 13 February against 21 citizens of the Srpska republic [RS], Jovo Rosic, minister of jurisprudence and administration of the RS, told TANJUG that "citizens of the RS, under article 30 of the amendments to the RS constitution, may not be deprived of citizenship, expelled, or extradited to a foreign country."

Rosic mentioned that he did not have the indictment of the Hague Court in his hands, nor did he know on what facts or possible evidence it was based, but that he was astounded to learn that it charges 21 people, all of them of Serbian nationality.

"I am personally convinced that the indictment is based on invented and false evidence, primarily gathered from those abroad who want such a trial just as much as our enemies—the Muslims and Croats—who have for certain participated in war crimes," Rosic said.

Rosic considers the Hague Court, established by a resolution rather than by a convention of the Security Council, illegal, and he says that it cannot help to preserve the peace, although this was given as a reason for establishing it. Because only Serbs will be in the defendant's box, Rosic expressed explicit doubt as to the unbiased nature of the deliberation and the proper procedure of that court.

"This ministry possesses information about horrible large-scale Muslim and Croatian crimes against Serbian

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civilians and prisoners in Brod, Kupres, Kravice near Bratunac, and all over the Sava Valley and Herzegovina.... When the Hague Court also takes those victims into account, we will begin to believe in its disinterestedness," Rosic said.

Bosnian Croats, Muslims Clash in Travnik

95BA0185C Belgrade VECERNJE NOVOSTI in Serbo-Croatian 18 Feb 95 p 4

[Article by TANJUG: "Casualties on Both Sides"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Croatian and Muslim radio stations in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina are daily citing new evidence of intolerance and conflicts in the federation founded on the Washington agreement. One of the examples of the ever-deeper Muslim-Croatian discord was the conflict at the entrance to the part of Travnik under Croatian control, which lasted several hours; beginning with verbal exchanges, it then escalated into gunfire, and people were wounded on both sides.

According to reports by media on both sides, the conflict occurred on 16 February, when three trucks traveling to Zenica were stopped at the checkpoint by members of the Croatian Defense Council [HVO]. The reports stated the contents of the goods in the trucks, but the Muslim side says that the Croats wanted to appropriate a portion. Following a fierce quarrel and physical assaults on members of the HVO, shooting began, and then there was a serious armed conflict that lasted an hour and a half. Soon thereafter, all checkpoints were blocked, so that all highway transport to Zenica continued to be blocked to Muslims, Muslim radio said.

Dissatisfied Croats Increasingly Leaving Sarajevo

95BA0185A Belgrade VECERNJE NOVOSTI in Serbo-Croatian 18 Feb 95 p 5

[Article by R. Gutic: "Exodus of Croats From Sarajevo"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Croatian-Muslim relations are going through new trials, and their Federation is only a mere desire on the part of those who are tailoring a new world order.

This is confirmed by the increasingly frequent assertions by leaders of the HDZ [Croatian Democratic Union] of the former Bosnia-Herzegovina that the Croats are threatened on the territory under Muslim control, especially in Sarajevo. Ante Zelic, president of the HDZ of the city on the Miljacka, said in an interview with SLOBODNA DALMACIJA that the Croats will in fact be demanding international protection.

"The SDA [Democratic Action Party] is driving the Croats out of Sarajevo," Zelic said and asserted that the policy of the SDA is untenable, that 450 housing units have already been forcibly taken away from Croats and allocated to Muslims.

Zelic also said that subtenants are also being forced upon Croats in Sarajevo who have large apartments. According to him, the situation is particularly difficult since the Washington agreement, "since that time the Croats have been harassed" and discharged from their jobs, which have been given to personnel of the SDA. It is also said that Muslims are being brought from the country to Sarajevo, and the Croats are being driven out. He announced that he would be calling upon the president of Croatia to move the same number of Muslims from Zagreb as Croats moving from Sarajevo, and he asked how the Muslims can think of Sarajevo being the capital of the federation if there are no Croats in it?

"The question can also be put differently: How do the Croats imagine a federation with Sarajevo as the capital when, for example, the authorities in so-called Herceg-Bosna do not allow establishment of direct telephone communication between Mostar and Sarajevo, that is, Sarajevo's communication to the world via Mostar?" the commentator of Muslim Radio Sarajevo said yesterday in declaring Zelic's saying that he would call upon Tudjman to effect a so-called humane resettlement of Croats from Sarajevo and Muslims from Zagreb to be a call for ethnic cleansing.

Ivan Kordic, president of the HDZ of the former Bosnia-Herzegovina, also confirmed the other day that the life of Croats in the Muslim section of Sarajevo is very difficult, saying that aside from the shortage of food, they also face problems of a political nature, that the Croats perceive the Muslim authority as an occupation.

"The Croats in Sarajevo do not want to live underground any longer," Kordic is categorical, adding that Sarajevo's Croats have expressed their protest against Muslim tyranny and arbitrariness by demanding formation of their own opstina.

Leaders of the Sarajevo SDA reject the demand of the Croats for formation of their opstina in this city "until the Muslims are guaranteed the same rights in Herceg-Bosna." Obviously, the capital of the former Bosnia-Herzegovina has seriously threatened to completely disrupt relations of the former brothers-in-arms.

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Tudjman Meeting With U.S. President Reported

LD1603232995 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 2300 GMT 16 Mar 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] U.S. President Bill Clinton has had talks with Croatian President Dr. Franjo Tudjman, with Kresimir Zubak, president of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation, and with Deputy President Ejup Ganic. This is Tihomir Vinkovic reporting from Washington for Croatian radio's midnight news.

Apart from discussing the Federation, the talks also focused on how to implement the Copenhagen Agreement, because it will determine the content of the announced resolution on the presence of international forces in Croatia after 31 March. [passage omitted]

Interview With Croatian Foreign Minister

LD1703112395 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 2230 GMT 16 Mar 95

[Telephone interview from Washington with Mate Granic, foreign minister and deputy prime minister, by announcer—live or recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] Our guest this evening in Washington, in the Worldnet studio, is Dr. Mate Granic, Croatia's deputy prime minister and foreign minister. Good evening to you, Mr. Granic.

[Granic] Good evening.

[Announcer] Can I please ask at the outset: We see that the purpose of the visit by the Croatian delegation to Washington today was to see how the [Bosnia-Herzegovina] Federation could be helped. So what conclusion was reached? How can help be given to the Federation which, it seems, has not been progressing quite as planned?

[Granic] Certainly it has not been progressing as fast as we would like, but when one compares the position now with what it was a year ago then one can nevertheless talk of major advances having been achieved. A year ago we were talking about how to halt the clashes, how to disband the prison camps, and how to enable the convoys to get through, while today we talked about how to implement the Bonn Agreement and the Munich Agreement and how we might move the whole process forward. After all, it is quite certain that in Bosnia-Herzegovina at this time the best thing we can do is to breathe life into the federation, while there are far fewer opportunities of reaching agreement with Karadzic and the Bosnian Serbs on the final setup in Bosnia-Herzegovina and the final establishment of peace in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

[Announcer] Mr. Granic, another question: It seems to me that the main problem facing Bosniaks and Croats in Bosnia-Herzegovina lies in the fact that both are using the Federation for different purposes, I would say. In other words, the Bosniaks do not want to give up the idea of a unified Bosnia-Herzegovina while the Croats do not want to give up Herceg-Bosna. How can these positions be reconciled?

[Granic] Well, it is quite clear that work should be done to establish all the bodies of the Federation—from federal, cantonal, to municipal bodies. On the other hand, the problem of the responsibility of the Federation in relation to the bodies of the republic should resolved. When we negotiated the Washington Agreement and signed it, we agreed that the republic's institutions would be a transitional form, in the same way as Herceg-Bosna is. In other words, the strengthening of the Federation should lead to the dying away of all other bodies on the one hand, and on the other hand what should remain of the presidency is a representative function with regard to foreign countries for the purpose of preserving the territorial integrity of Bosnia-Herzegovina [as heard].

It is not clear when and how an agreement will be reached with the Bosnian Serbs and of what quality this agreement might be. What most people believe is that this would be a weak union and nothing more. In other words, for both peoples it is vital that they strengthen the Federation and all the institutions of the Federation as soon as possible.

[Announcer] We noticed that at today's ceremony the signatories [to the Washington Agreement] a year ago—Alija Izetbegovic and Haris Silajdzic—were not present. Do you not interpret this as a sign that perhaps they do not believe particularly strongly in the idea of the Federation?

[Granic] Well, the Bosnian side explained this by saying that President Izetbegovic had already previously been invited to Bonn, where he is to address parliament tomorrow, while Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic is on a foreign trip. We are certainly sorry they were not present and I think it is a pity because enormous efforts were made today to bring together a very significant number of people. Not only did President Clinton welcome this gathering, but Secretary of State Christopher, Defense Secretary William Perry, and Mrs. Madeleine Albright and practically the whole of the State Department have also been involved the whole time.

[Announcer] Can you comment on the repercussions of the case of General Santic, the HVO [Bosnian Croatian Defense Council] forces commander in the Bihac region—it is still not known where he is or what has become of him—and how have the Americans reacted to this event?

[Granic] This is certainly the most significant incident to have taken place in the past year. Gen. Santic applied the Washington Agreement in practice all the time and we energetically demanded of the Bosniak side—and we continue to demand of the Bosniak side—that they undertake a thorough investigation into this incident and punish those who are guilty. Unless this happens it will be very difficult to build trust. Naturally, we should

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not call a halt to the building of trust but this incident should be thoroughly investigated as soon as possible.

[Announcer] Allow me to speculate, Mr Granic. Does it not appear to you that perhaps the representatives of the Bosniak nation are in some way disappointed by the fact that the UN is separating the Croatian issue from that of Bosnia-Herzegovina?

[Granic] We said a long time ago that we do not want to be hostages to anyone or any crisis and we do not want to be hostages to anyone—[Serbian President] Milosevic or the crisis in Bosnia-Herzegovina. We want to see the problem of the occupied areas of the Republic of Croatia resolved quickly and that is why we decided to end UNPROFOR's mandate. We also have the special agreement in Copenhagen on a new international presence in a new form which would speed up the whole peace process. I believe that the solution of the problem of the Republic of Croatia's occupied areas will only be speeded up by the process of resolving the overall crisis in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

[Announcer] Can we talk a little about this possible new Security Council resolution on the peacekeeping forces in Croatia? It seems that there is a good deal of skepticism among the Croatian public that 500 observers can monitor a 1,000-km border between Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia and between the so-called Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and Croatia while the remaining 4,500 or 5,500 would monitor the zone of separation (?in the occupied areas). Is this a sufficient guarantee for Croatia?

[Granic] I believe that the most important thing is that the international community accepted that there should be controls along the border of the Republic of Croatia. This means that we no longer merely have paper guarantees of territorial integrity and sovereignty—not only in the Security Council resolutions but also in practice where it is a matter of the territory of the Republic of Croatia, and the international community will also accept control of these borders. [sentence as heard] We are currently talking about how to exercise these controls and which strategic points will be included.

[Announcer] According to what we have learned from reliable sources, it seems that in the new draft UN Security Council resolution on Croatia mention is made of a six-month deadline. Is this true?

[Granic] It is true. A six-month deadline is mentioned. It will be a temporary mandate which will speed up the process of peaceful reintegration and agreement.

[Announcer] Does this mean that these forces will have to be reduced in size from 12,000 to 5,000 or 6,000 in this six-month period?

[Granic] No, they will have to be reduced sooner, within a three-month period. According to the latest agreements in the UN Security Council and proposals by the Contact Group, there will be two resolutions: The first will extend the UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR] mandate in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] and terminate its mandate in Croatia, and the second will deal with the temporary mandate of UN peacekeepers for the Republic of Croatia for a period of six months, which will include control of the internationally recognized Croatian borders and [international] supervision based on the existing agreements.

[Announcer] Good. Mr. Granic, thank you for this interview. I wish you a pleasant and useful stay in the United States.

[Granic] Thank you.

Babic Says Zagreb 'Factor That Wants War'

AU1603153495 Korenica Srpski Radio Korenica in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 15 Mar 95

[FBIS Translated Text] A meeting between presidents of municipal assemblies and executive councils of western part of the republic of Serb Krajina was held in Knin today. The participants discussed the latest developments regarding the UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] mandate on the territory of Krajina.

The meeting was attended by Foreign Minister Milan Babic and Krajina Assembly Chairman Rajko Lezajic. According to the statement released after the meeting, Babic informed representatives of municipalities of Dalmatia, Lika, Banija, Kordun, and Western Slavonia about contacts between the government of the republic of Serb Krajina, the Krajina Foreign Ministry, and the representatives of the United Nations and full members of UN Security Council. Stressing that Croatia's demand to terminate UNPROFOR mandate has made it quite clear that Croatia is a factor that wants war, Babic warned that Croatia's latest position does not reveal a willingness to preserve peace on the principles of the present mandate.

Spokesman Assesses Mikelic, Martic Clash

AU1703095595 Belgrade TELEGRAF in Serbo-Croatian 15 Mar 95 p 2

["Exclusive" interview with Petar Damjanic, spokesman for the president of the republic of Serbian Krajina who speaks "in Milan Martic's name" because Martic has "pledged to remain silent," by Jaska Jakovljevic: "The Marriage of Convenience Between Babic, a Vizier Who Wishes to Become Caliph, and Mikelic, the Weather Vane, Does Not Stand a Chance Because Martic Was Elected by the People"; place and date not given]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Jakovljevic] Why did President Martic choose to launch the initiative to dismiss Borislav Mikelic precisely at this difficult political moment?

[Damjanic] The demand for Mikelic's dismissal should have happened earlier. However, I would like to remind

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you that President Martic already brought up the question of Prime Minister Mikelic's responsibility at two previous sessions, and that some of the deputies—who were not bothered by the fact that they belonged to different parties—accepted this. President Martic did not request a dismissal because he believed in the possibility of an agreement with Prime Minister Mikelic, which would eliminate the cause of the problems that arose, but this turned out to be a mistake.

Meanwhile, some of the deputies in the assembly were corrupt and a voting machinery was created that is supposed to function according to the principle: The end justifies the means.

[Jakovljevic] What happened at the 8 March assembly session?

[Damjanic] What happened at the second session of the first regular session of the republic of Serbian Krajina assembly is that the voting machinery ignored the president's request and did not place the issue of Prime Minister Mikelic's responsibility on the agenda. It was all premeditated, calculated, and away from public view, but it will prove impossible to hide that Milan Babic—who not long ago was saying that Mikelic had deserted the Krajina and had shattered the Serbian national body—is now supporting him and thus has assumed responsibility for any consequences that result from the government's disastrous policy.

[Jakovljevic] The session was preceded by a meeting with Milosevic. What was agreed?

[Damjanic] I did not attend the meeting and, therefore, cannot answer the question.

[Jakovljevic] Rumor has it that Milan Martic is to be replaced by Milan Babic. What sort of game is this and who is the ringleader?

[Damjanic] Milan Babic has already become a somewhat tragicomic figure. He reminds one of a grand vizier from a cartoon who wished to become "the caliph in place of the caliph", and has subordinated everything to this goal: his party, the ministry he heads, the assembly, and, of course, the government, because Mikelic must respect and acknowledge the fact that Babic protected him. I believe that Milan Babic can never take Milan Martic's place in the Serbian national movement, simply because they are two different types of people with different concepts. One places his personal advancement above all else, while the other considers Krajina his life's goal. If someone wishes to remove Milan Martic and put Milan Babic in his place, then his goals are clear. But there is a problem facing all those engaged in such personnel combinations. The present Krajina president, Milan Martic, was elected by the people and his responsibility is only to the people. The Krajina president can only be removed if these same people withhold confidence in him in a referendum.

[Jakovljevic] Judging by the Serbian state-controlled media, Radio Television Serbia has in recent months given more prominence to Mikelic than President Martic?

[Damjanic] This is not the case only with RTS [Radio-Television Serbia]. Following the 8 March session, Croatian Television's evening newscast expressed undisguised pleasure at the fact that "the forces of compromise, headed by Prime Minister Mikelic, have won." I do not wish to comment on this in more detail.

[Jakovljevic] It seems that Mikelic and Martic are not politically like-minded?

[Damjanic] I would be surprised if Martic and Mikelic were to share political views. President Martic is true to one single option which he has set as a political goal, and no calculation is involved. On the other hand, Mr. Mikelic is "a weather vane."

[Jakovljevic] What is Milan Babic's role? He seems to be very close to Mikelic?

[Damjanic] The closeness is very evident and was confirmed at the latest assembly session. Personally, I believe that Milan Babic has already become a somewhat tragicomic figure whose one obsession—as I said earlier—it to be "the caliph in place of the caliph." Everything has been subordinated to this goal, including of course, the government, because Mikelic has to acknowledge the fact that Babic saved him from a fall.

[Jakovljevic] But Martic has also become close with the Srpska republic leadership almost overnight, so to speak?

[Damjanic] These are two very different types of closeness. Babic and Mikelic have a "marriage of convenience." Babic protected Martic at the latest assembly session and thus also assumed responsibility for the government's general policy which is what it is. Sweet talk, numbers, and statistics about alleged great successes cannot fool anyone. The common man can see, for example, that he cannot buy gas at state-owned gas stations with coupons, which was not a problem, say, a year ago. However, you can buy gas at almost every pub in Knin. The waitress writes you a bill of sale and you go to the gas station where the private gas has been stored. Yet statistics say that everything has improved tenfold.

As far as the closeness of President Martic and the Srpska republic leadership is concerned, it is exclusively the result of a similar outlook on the future outcome of the crisis in the region of the former Yugoslavia, and is reflected in the fact that both have the same strategic goal in mind, that is, the creation of a single Serbian state.

[Jakovljevic] A joint defense council has been formed. The Muslims and the Croats have done the same, except that they have a lot of friends worldwide, while no one is on the side of the Serbs. Can we go against the whole world?

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[Damjanic] The Serbs have not declared war on the entire world, and I do not see why the whole world should be against the Serbs. We are not asking anything special from the world, and we will continue to fight for our rights.

[Jakovljevic] Can you foresee the next crucial events on the political scene in Serbia, the republic of Serbian Krajina, and the Srpska republic?

[Damjanic] I do not believe that the current state of affairs in relations between the three Serbian states can go on for very long. Many questions have accumulated that clutter the political scene and require urgent solutions. Of course, the course of events will to a great extent be influenced by the position of relevant international factors.

[Jakovljevic] How would you assess relations between the presidents of Serbia, the Srpska republic, and the republic of Serbian Krajina?

[Damjanic] It is well known that there has been a complete break in relations between the Serbian leadership and the Srpska republic. This was a heavy blow to us. The republic of Serbian Krajina is bearing the direct consequences of the blockade that Serbia imposed on the Srpska republic. President Martic did everything to minimize the conflict. He met with both Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic and the Srpska republic leadership. It is in our strategic interest to fully overcome this conflict.

[Jakovljevic] Can we expect an imbalance in relations between the Srpska republic and the republic of Serbian Krajina if President Martic is removed?

[Damjanic] This is a hypothetical question and I do not answer such questions on principle.

[Jakovljevic] In what phase is the project to unite the Srpska republic and the republic of Serbian Krajina?

[Damjanic] The public is aware that we have already "united" certain vital sectors, for example, defense. The breakdown of relations between the FRY [Federal Republic of Yugoslavia] and the Srpska republic has led to a crisis in the economic and financial spheres, and this has significantly affected certain plans. However, this cannot stop that which represents the unique will of the people in the Srpska republic and the republic of Serbian Krajina. Our two states are in fact already united, and the issue of formal unification is a matter of the right political moment.

[Jakovljevic] In your opinion, what is the essence of President Milosevic's statement that "peace has no alternative"?

[Damjanic] Peace does have an alternative, and it is war. However, any reasonable person, given the choice between war and peace, will opt for peace. However, there is a whole spectrum of possible solutions to the crisis in the region of the former Yugoslavia. Some are more, some less, acceptable to the Serbian people as a whole, and that is why I hesitate to reduce reality to the dilemma "war or peace". The problem is a lot more complex.

[Jakovljevic] Is there anyone on the political scene in the republic of Serbian Krajina who favors the Z-4 plan?

[Damjanic] If there is someone, they have not said so. As far as the official state position is concerned, it will be known once the Z-4 plan has been examined. We still only know about it from the press.

[Jakovljevic] How would you comment on the change in Tudjman's position regarding the extension of the UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR] mandate?

[Damjanic] This development was expected. The whole scenario was conceived with the goal of placing Croatia at the center of international attention, and to use the threat to evict peacekeeping forces from Croatia as a means of extracting the maximum from the Security Council regarding the change in UNPROFOR's mandate. Following the initial decision, President Tudjman's popularity shot up and he will now have a tough time explaining to the public what Croatia might possibly have achieved that is so significant that it changed a decision that previously, on many occasions, was described as final. Armed incidents, incited by Croatian troops as a means of expressing "dissatisfaction with Tudjman's capitulation", have already started on the southern Dalmatia part of the border between the republic of Serbian Krajina and Croatia.

RSK Appeals to UN To Resume Humanitarian Aid

LD1603190395 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1448 GMT 16 Mar 95

[Item received by fax]

[FBIS Translated Text] Knin, 16 Mar (SRNA)—Regarding the UNHCR decision to suspend its activities in the republic of Serb Krajina [RSK], the Krajina Commissariat for Refugees sent a letter to UN special envoy Yasushi Akashi last night.

The decision, which was made because the UNHCR is not able to deliver aid to Bihac, affects 122,000 refugees and displaced people in the RSK, so the decision is unjustifiable and is having harmful effects on the health and living conditions of these people, the letter says.

"We take the liberty of asking you to consider the moral, legal, and political consequences of such a decision and to use your influence with the UNHCR so that this organization continues with its humanitarian mission in the region," the letter sent to Akashi says.

Serb Radicals Oppose Demilitarization of RSK

LD1603205395 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1714 GMT 16 Mar 95

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[FBIS Translated Text] Vukovar, 16 Mar (TANJUG)—Rade Leskovac, chairman of the Serb Radical Party [SRS] in the republic of Serb Krajina [RSK], stated in Vukovar today that a decision by the international community to redefine the peacekeeping forces' mandate without the agreement of Krajina would represent the annulment of the Vance plan.

This would be tantamount to the one-sided demise of an already signed agreement, Leskovac assessed at a news conference.

The new UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] mandate should be defined by a resolution shortly to be adopted by the UN Security Council. According to the Krajina radicals, not only the future of war or peace but also a final political solution for the Serb people both in the RSK and in the current Croatia could depend on the content of this resolution.

The Krajina radicals repeated that they are energetically opposed to the demilitarization of Krajina.

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Gligorov: U.S. Aid Program 'Quite Encouraging'

AU1703102595 Skopje MIC in English 16 Mar 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The President of the Republic of Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] Kiro Gligorov yesterday received U.S. ambassador Ralph Johnson, coordinator for the U.S. program for help to Central and Eastern European countries.

The talks concentrated on reviewing the latest proposals from this program for help to the Republic of Macedonia [RM]. Ambassador Johnson positively assessed the started reforms in the RM and the U.S. interest to provide economic and financial rehabilitation of the RM also through this program.

President Gligorov stated that the new strategy of this American program was quite encouraging, particularly from the aspect of the development of the countries on the Balkans. It is of particular importance for the Republic of Macedonia to provide support of the reforms and revitalization of the traffic links in the region, is said in the announcement issued by the cabinet of the president.

Crvenkovski Denies Acceptance of 'Double Name'

AU1603151995 Skopje VECER in Macedonian 16 Mar 95 p 5

["G.M."-initialed report: "Crvenkovski Disallows"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The foreign minister of the Republic of Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM], Stevo Crvenkovski, qualified reports in the Greek mass media that he transmitted to UN mediator Cyrus Vance the "intention of his government to accept the principle of a double name" as a "pure Greek speculation."

In the talks that we had with the minister on the phone yesterday afternoon he told us that "there had been absolutely no discussions on the name." Crvenkovski qualified the statements in some Greek mass media that Vance had asked him to explain whether his government agrees to talk on all questions, including the name, as totally false. "We only discussed how to find a way to resume the interrupted negotiations," Minister Crvenkovski told us on the phone yesterday.

University Activists Detained 30 Days Longer

AU1703085995 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1735 GMT 16 Mar 95

[Telephone report by Ibadete Hajrullahu from Skopje]

[FBIS Translated Text] The period of detention for those deprived of their freedom at the time of the turmoil in Recice e Vogel—Tetovo University Rector Dr. Fadil Sulejmani, Milaim Fejziu [Forum for Protection of Human Rights and Freedoms chairman], and Qemal Shabani—was due to be up on 18 March. However, the public was informed that their detention is to be extended another 30 days.

According to attorney Mahmut Jusufi, the reason is that there exists a danger that they may escape, exert influence on the witnesses, and possibly repeating the same criminal act. Conditions are the same as when they were first taken into custody.

Jusufi asserted that the institution of indemnity is not valid for these persons. There is no possibility of them being released on bail. The case still rests with the Investigation Office. There is still no information as to when it will be completed. Only when the investigation office concludes its work will it be possible to ascertain if there are to be any charges and what they will be. At this juncture, the old statute will remain valid for those persons charged with calling for resistance, according to Article 206 of the Penal Code of Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM], Clause 2, which prescribes imprisonment from one to five years.

Finally, attorney Jusufi declared that this is a concocted trial because they are being charged for freely expressing their will. At this stage, the Prosecutor's Office should be rounding up witnesses, without excluding some reporters who were found at the scene of the event on the day that those who were arrested addressed the public.

Albanian Deputies Conditions for Assembly Return

LD1603150995 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1031 GMT 16 Mar 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Skopje, 16 Mar (TANJUG)—Deputies of the Shqiptar National Democratic Party [NDP] and of the radical wing of the Party of Democratic Prosperity [PDP], which has split off, are making the fulfillment of a series of demands of the authorities in Skopje a condition for their return to the parliament of The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia [FYROM].

The stances of these parties made public last night list the political grievances that, according to them, have led to dangerous interethnic tensions in the state.

One of the demands of members of the hardline PDP splinter group is "the creation of conditions for the use of the Shqiptar language in the work of the Assembly." They are also demanding the establishment of responsibility for "the brutal interruption of teaching at Tetovo university," the freeing of all Shqiptar political prisoners, and the smooth extension of tuition at Tetovo university, which the government in Skopje considers to be unconstitutional.

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The NDP presidency yesterday also decided to pull its deputies out of the assembly as long, it says, as "the authorities continue their interethnic discrimination against the Shqiptars." Deputies from this party will, however, "from time to time take part in the work of some commissions in parliament when draft laws of national interest are up for discussion."

Unlike these two political groups of Shqiptars, the PDP deputies, among whom are four ministers in the government of Prime Minister Branko Crvenkovski, have returned to the Macedonian parliament.

Crvenkovski Wants 'Separate' UN Mandate

AU1703101595 Skopje MIC in English 16 Mar 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] During his visit to the UN headquarters in New York the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] Stevo Crvenkovski, asked the UN Secretary General Butrus Butrus-Ghali and the Chairman of the Security Council Li Zhaoxing for a change in the UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] mandate in Macedonia.

Minister Crvenkovski, in his request, stressed the need for separate military, logistics and administrative structures for the UN in the Republic of Macedonia, that will be managed by a special envoy of the Secretary General and a Commander of the UN forces. Explaining the standpoint in relation to this request, Minister Crvenkovski pointed out the essential difference in the mandate of the UNPROFOR forces in the Republic of Macedonia, as opposed to the functions of UNPROFOR in Bosnia and Herzegovina and Croatia. This request, stressed Crvenkovski, is solely motivated by the to-date positive preventive function of UNPROFOR in the Republic of Macedonia, as well as the efforts of Macedonia for good neighborly relations and a peaceful policy on the Balkans. Otherwise, Minister Crvenkovski had a joint meeting in New York yesterday with the UN mediator in the Macedonian-Greek negotiations Cyrus Vance and the special envoy of the U.S. President Matthew Nimitz. During the meeting, various issues that obstruct normal communications between the two states were raised, as well as the issue of the illegal Greek embargo.

Ethnic Tensions in Tetovo Felt in Skopje

95BA0180E Maribor VECER in Slovene 2 Feb 95 p 2

[Article by VECER correspondent: "'Kosovo' in Macedonia"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] *The conflict between the Macedonian [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia] authorities and the Albanians was announced; more policemen than demonstrators injured; was Serbia involved in the conflict?*

[Passage omitted]

The streets and bars of Tetovo were almost abandoned the next day. All accesses to the city were blocked, and armed police patrols were at all of the more important points in the city, thoroughly checking all vehicles and passengers. The Albanian flag is no longer at the Albanian university, and almost all the window panes have been broken. Passersby are distrustful of anyone not speaking Albanian, and above all, none of them wants to talk to VECER. A fellow reporter from Skopje explained: "The VECER daily newspaper, at which the Albanians are particularly angry, is also issued in Macedonia's capital. The demonstrators broke that newspaper's correspondent's jaw on Friday."

An elderly professor, who remains anonymous because of fear of the Albanians and the authorities, says: "If Macedonia allows the Albanians an illegal alternative university, it can no longer expect to preserve itself as a state. The Albanians already have their own illegal health institutions, police, and military headquarters. If Macedonia lets them, the consequence will be secession and annexation to Tirana, which the Albanian leaders are not concealing. They say that it is only a matter of time. Of course, all our other neighbors are also interested in the partition of Macedonia."

The consequences of the conflict in Tetovo are also affecting the situation in Skopje. The city is already ethnically divided, police checks are frequent, and communications between both parts of the city have almost completely ceased. [passage omitted]

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Thaler To Meet on 'Confiscated' Real Estate

AU1603155795 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1430 GMT 16 Mar 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Foreign Minister Zoran Thaler yesterday replied to a letter by Italian Foreign Minister Susanna Agnelli in which she proposed as quick as possible meeting of the mixed Slovene-Italian commission.

In his reply, Thaler emphasized that the relations between the countries are improving. These could also be stimulated with bilateral meetings at a high level, and at the highest level. According to Thaler, this would facilitate an easier and speedier resolution of the questions that should be solved on the basis of humanitarian reciprocity within the limits of prevailing agreements.

He also informed Minister Agnelli that Slovenia will draw attention to the issue of real estate confiscated from the Slovenes on the territories under the administration of the Republic of Italy. Our side will also propose talks about the signing of a bilateral agreement on the protection of minorities.

In his letter, Minister Thaler proposes that plenipotentiaries of both governments should continue work in a few days.

SFRY Succession Talks in Geneva Postponed

AU1603171095 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1430 GMT 16 Mar 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The negotiations on the division of assets, rights, and obligations of the former SFRY [Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia] were scheduled to continue in Geneva today. However, the meeting did not take place. Sonja Znidarsic asked Dr. Miran Mejak, head of our negotiating team, why the succession talks did not continue:

[Begin recording] [Mejak] The meeting was canceled because the Serbia and Montenegro delegation was not willing to attend a meeting in which succession documents would be discussed. The Serbia and Montenegro delegation insisted that the consequences of the succession of individual areas of Yugoslavia be discussed.

[Znidarsic] This, of course, is contrary to current conclusions pertaining to the succession and also contrary to the London Conference on Yugoslavia. The Belgrade delegation is deliberately obstructing and protracting the talks. Last week, for example, it sent a proposal to Geneva on how to resolve the consequences of secession, which confirmed its insistence on the position that Yugoslavia did not disintegrate but that some parts seceded from it. Also, they are not willing to discuss an international audit of the closing balance of accounts of the National Bank of Yugoslavia, which, naturally, also contained foreign currency reserves.

The [Yugoslav] Central Bank recently changed its status. I asked Dr. Mejak how this would influence the continuation of the negotiations.

[Mejak] The Bank of Yugoslavia changed its status illegitimately. It is managing the assets of all the successor states in an unlawful manner. For this reason the National Bank of Slovenia informed central banks worldwide that the manner in which the change of address had been carried out in the absence of an international audit was unacceptable. [end recording]

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Federal

Lilic Interviewed on Political, Military Issues

LD1603183295 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1309 GMT 16 Mar 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 16 Mar (TANJUG)—Zoran Lilic, the president of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia [FRY], said in an interview to be published by POLITIKA EKSPRES tomorrow that the fastest way of finally resolving the crisis in former Yugoslavia was by urgently lifting all sanctions against the FRY.

If it were to make such a decision, the international community would discourage all militant forces in former Yugoslavia and would create conditions for reaching a peaceful settlement as soon as possible. Practically speaking, once the conditions for a peaceful settlement are in place, the crisis will be resolved, provided, of course, all the sides in the conflict are treated equally, Lilic said.

Asked about the prospects for a summit meeting between the leaders of all former Yugoslav republics that would be held under the auspices of the international conference on former Yugoslavia, Lilic said:

"The FRY has always advocated a peaceful and just solution to the crisis in former Yugoslavia and supports all initiatives to that end. For the FRY to take part in the summit together with all other former Yugoslav republics, it will be necessary beforehand to provide guarantees of its equal status and treatment in relation to other participants. We can negotiate with others only if treated as equal partners.

"The way of achieving this is by lifting the sanctions for which, in the view of the majority of international factors, there is no justification."

In reference to the issue of succession, Lilic said that the FRY will continue to insist that according to all the facts and international laws its continuity in relation to the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia [SFRY] is incontrovertible.

Asked about the prospects of all former Yugoslav republics recognizing one another and asked to comment on rumors that the decision to recognize Croatia within the AVNOJ [Anti-Fascist Council of National Liberation of Yugoslavia, the Tito-led wartime government] had already been made, Lilic said:

"The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia does not have any territorial claims on any of the republics of former Yugoslavia and thus not on Croatia either. The FRY will recognize Croatia after a political agreement has been reached between its authorities and the representatives of the republic of Serbian Krajina [RSK], as set out in the Vance plan for Krajina—a plan accepted by all the international factors.

"These are not difficult conditions and in practical terms are not dependent on us. Croatia should also cease to dispute that the FRY is a continuation of the SFRY," President Lilic said.

Regarding the conditions under which the FRY could recognize Bosnia-Herzegovina, Lilic assessed that it is necessary to realize the same preconditions as in the case of the recognition of Croatia. "This means: the achievement of a political agreement between the directly involved sides who lived together in an earlier common state, which was broken up against the wishes of the Serbian and Montenegrin peoples, and an end to disputing the continuity of the FRY. Here I am also thinking of the vital need to treat the Srpska republic and the Muslim-Croat Federation equally and respect the fact that they have identical rights. From the outset we stressed that we would accept any solution agreed upon by the conflicting sides," Lilic said.

Replying to the question of whether after last year's split there had been any contacts with the Srpska republic leadership and whether it is possible to reach a political compromise, Lilic said:

"As is known, this decision was adopted in reaction to the Srpska republic leadership's decision not to accept the Contact Group plan. The FRY continues to take the view that the Contact Group plan is a sound starting point for the resumption of talks.

"Our country expresses the hope that this will also be understood by the Srpska republic leadership. This would be in the interests of the people in the Srpska republic and the Serbian people as a whole, especially as the Serb Republic leadership is being asked to accept the contact group plan—not as a whole but as a starting point in negotiations on the resolution of all disputed issues with the Muslim-Croat Federation."

Asked to comment on Croatia's decision to deny hospitality to UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force], Lilic said that the decision had provoked great concern in the FRY Government and the Yugoslav public as well as among many other governments in the world which are genuine in their efforts to restore peace in former Yugoslavia.

"There is awareness both here and abroad that the withdrawal of international forces would threaten the results achieved so far in the peace process not just in the Republic of Croatia and the RSK but also in former Bosnia-Herzegovina. This would produce a real danger of the conflict being renewed and even spreading uncontrollably. This is something that some forces in Croatia have been openly advocating recently," President Lilic said.

In the same context Lilic spoke about Prevlaka:

"Prevlaka will remain under UN control until the FRY and Croatia reach an agreement on territorial separation in the area. We are, however, concerned by the increasing number of incidents in which Croatia is

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flagrantly violating the demilitarized zone in the area of Prevlaka as well as by attempts by unilateral measures to prejudice the final solution.

"Prevlaka is an important issue in Yugoslav-Croatian relations and it is no good if one side decides to resort to unilateral steps and to seek solutions beyond the existing agreements," Lilic said. Asked whether our army is ready to protect and capable of protecting the FRY borders from any possible aggression, the FRY president stressed that he was absolutely convinced that it was.

"As chairman of the Supreme Defense Council, I am in a position to assure myself personally of the fact that the Yugoslav Army is prepared in military terms and capable at any moment of protecting the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the FRY.

"I would also like on this occasion to stress that the FRY, as a state, does not have any territorial claims on others and hence I am justified in expecting that its territorial integrity and independence is respected.

"By taking stock of the military-political situation in our immediate area and beyond, and taking stock of the scope for threats to the security of the FRY, the Supreme Defense Council is ensuring the conditions for the Yugoslav Army to be strategically organized and have the right personnel and material-technical equipment to allow it to carry out successfully its tasks in defending the country," Lilic said.

He recalled that after election to his current post, he did a tour of inspection of all three armies, the Air Force and Air Defense forces, the Navy, the Military Medical Academy, the Military Schools' Center, and some other military institutions. "I have always stressed that there is no alternative to peace, and pointed out that the FRY is exposed to all forms of pressure and threats of the use of force, except open aggression.

"I stressed that for this reason we must constantly take all the necessary measures in the economic, political, state, diplomatic, and military spheres in order to preserve the country's internal stability, and protect its independence, integrity and territorial unity. I stressed that our army, as a constituent part of society, in these difficult conditions, shares its fate. I stressed that the federal government, the Supreme Defense Council and the General Staff of the Yugoslav Army are doing what they can to, at least to some extent, ease the very serious problems. I believe that we have succeeded in this," Lilic said.

Speaking about the process of the transformation of the Yugoslav Army, President Lilic assessed that it was going ahead well. "This is a very complex and by no means easy process, but the most important thing is that our objectives are clear—and these are that we have a numerically smaller but powerful army equipped with modern arms, an army which is capable, prepared in terms of morale and efficient. Much has been done in this field in less than two years. The the country's defense policy has been established and strategies and doctrines of the army in an emergency and in war have been devised, and the depoliticization of and the removal of party influences from the Army and its freedom from being bound to any one ideology have been carried out," Lilic stressed.

Commenting on a recent statement by U.S. Assistant Secretary of State Richard Holbrooke to the effect that before the sanctions against the FRY are lifted, the issue of Kosovo will have to be settled, Lilic said that setting further conditions for lifting and not suspending the sanctions "will not lead to the resolution of the problem and the Yugoslav crisis but will rather spread the conflict beyond the current crisis area and to the wider region of the Balkans."

"The leading European powers must bear this in mind since we are talking here about a potential conflict in their back yard," Lilic said. "As for Holbrooke's statement", he added, "it could be seen even as well-intentioned if Mr. Holbrooke had announced efforts to influence the Albanian national minority in Kosovo-Metohija to exercise its rights through the institutions of the Republic of Serbia and to fulfill its many obligations.

In view of the fact that members of all national minorities—and there are over 24 of them in the FRY—enjoy the highest degree of human rights as guaranteed by international law and the UN Charter—it is not unrealistic to expect this from the Albanians. In any case, it is a well-known fact that the U.S. administration's official stand is that Kosovo-Metohija is the inalienable part of Serbia and as far as we are concerned, it is how it will remain"—Lilic said.

President Lilic confirmed that he had received an invitation from the president of the Russian Federation, Boris Yeltsin, to visit Moscow and that the visit would take place during celebrations to mark the 50th anniversary of the allied victory over fascism. "In addition to its bilateral importance the visit will have wider implications. It can be seen as recognition of the Serb and Montenegrin people's enormous contribution to the allied victory over fascism—the greatest evil of the 20th century.

"In the present situation I would like to stress that the role of the Russian Federation in settling the problems and the crisis in former Yugoslavia has been very constructive. We know how to appreciate the principled stand of the Russian Federation, of President Yeltsin, personally, and of their official policy as a whole," President Lilic said.

Draskovic Criticizes RSK, RS Leaders

LD1603200395 Belgrade BETA in Serbo-Croatian 1202 GMT 16 Mar 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Jagodina, 16 Mar (BETA)—Vuk Draskovic, the leader of the Serbian Renaissance Movement today described claims that UNPROFOR [UN

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Protection Force] forces would be stationed "on Croatia's external borders" as "manipulations and speculations."

"This is not true. They (UN troops) will stay where they are now, on blue lines, and only a symbolic number will be stationed on Croatia's border points," Draskovic told Radio Jagodina. He sharply criticized Milan Martic, the president of the republic of Serb Krajina [RSK] for his stance that changes to the UNPROFOR mandate were unadmissable.

"I disagree a lot with Milan Babic [RSK foreign minister], but he is an independent, clever politician who has the support of his people. Now Mr. Babic is being asked to prevent sensless reactions of policeman Martic," Draskovic said. "While such irresponsible, selfish people, who care more about their positions than about the fate of their people are leading the Serb Srpska republic [RS] and the RSK, I will be a pessimist about a speedy resolution to the crisis in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia," he said.

The recognition of Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina by Belgrade is "not a central issue," Draskovic said. "The most important issue is whether Serbs are protected by the proposed plans for the RS and RSK. If they are—and I vouchsafe that with minor alterations they are—then negotiations can start," he said.

"I ask whether the entire world has recognized these two states (Bosnia and Croatia)? Has Moscow done this? Yes it has and Greece is preparing to do the same. Are we going to go against the entire world,?" Draskovic asked at the end of his interview.

Commentary Views Possible Successors to Perisic

AU1603123295 Belgrade NIN in Serbo-Croatian 10 Mar 95 p 17

[Dragan Bujosevic commentary: "Three Colors: Blue"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Momcilo Perisic, chief of the General Staff of the Yugoslav Army, got his first thorn in the flesh when the state leadership annulled his decision to suspend General Boro Ivanovic, and prematurely pensioned off the chief of the First Army, Gen. Jevrem Cokic.

The second thorn was when they cut his right hand, that is, expelled from military service the now already former commissar Ljubodrag Stojadinovic.

"When Blagoje Adzic's staff were suspended without his knowledge, he demanded to go into retirement. They told him that was precisely what they had expected him to do. Perhaps they expect Perisic to do the same thing," NIN's source in the Yugoslav Army says. He thinks that the recent assembly of the generals, held at the time when Perisic was in Moscow with Defense Minister Pavle Bulatovic, was not an obscure plot behind his back. "Such meetings are normal. The General Staff calls them, while the journey to Moscow suddenly turned up," he says.

Rumors have already reached opposition circles that the new chief of the Yugoslav Army could possibly be Air Force commander Velickovic. His personal details are as follows: Yugonostalgist, born in Pozarevac, took part in the JUL [Yugoslav Associated Left] movement, a peace-loving general....

Says NIN's source: "It is true that Velickovic, in contrast to Perisic and Stojadinovic, ignores neither the Yugoslav People's Army, nor the Partisans, because his attitude is that these are part of the Yugoslav Army's tradition as well. He has never been involved in ethnic classification or purges. Once a month he invites all the former Air Force commanders for a coffee. At one of the celebrations in Podgorica Zvonko Jurjevic was also present. Velickovic has war experience, and became the chief of the Air Force when Bozidar Stevanovic and Nedeljko Boskovic disappeared."

It is quite noteworthy that speculations among the public about Perisic's successor do not mention Gen. Blagoje Kovacevic, perhaps because, as our source points out, he has an unusual series of functions: First, he is aide to the commander in chief of the ground forces, while at the same time he is his deputy. Our source says that Kovacevic is a riddle, perhaps because Perisic is deliberately holding him down in fear that he might succeed him, but also because of the fact that he has remained just a good staff officer, who did not pass through the baptism by fire—commanding on the front. It is unclear whether the part of the Socialist Party of Serbia gathered round Dobrivoje Budimirovic Bidza exerts influence on the Yugoslav Army through him, or vice versa.

The third man in this story, since the restoration to life of retired Cokic is not seriously considered, is Dragoljub Ojdanic, commander of the First Army. "It seems that Perisic had a grudge against him as well, or feared him, so Ojdanic's advancement was slowed down. Perhaps that was because he, just like Boro Ivanovic, is known for his good relations with the Interior Ministry of Serbia. Even though he has war experience, it cannot be said that he made moves that would label him as Yugonostalgist or nationalist. So far he has not made any characteristic move," NIN's source says.

Asked to estimate whom the army would choose as their chief if Gen. Perisic really left the post, our source says with a sad smile: "It is not soldiers who choose their superiors. Yet, if they were to choose, I think they would choose Velickovic."

But all this does not mean that the Perisic story is over, because, after all, the army does not have that many generals.... Why should shifts in its leadership be more frequent than the elections for the Serbian Assembly? In addition, the current time is not really favorable for causing fresh disorder in the military structure.

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Results of Political, Economic Poll of Country

95BA0180I Ljubljana REPUBLIKA in Slovene 12 Feb 95 p 14

[Unattributed article: "The Pulse of Yugoslavia"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Belgrade research agency Argument polled 2,000 citizens of the FRY [Federal Republic of Yugoslavia] (in Serbia, without Kosovo, and in Montenegro). The results indicate that most citizens cannot distinguish democratic from undemocratic. Thus, for example, it seems completely natural to about 26 and 21 percent, respectively, of the respondents in Serbia and Montenegro that the government controls the media. Serbs have most trust in the church (33 percent), followed by the Army and Milosevic, whereas Montenegrins have by far the most trust in the army (47 percent). About half the respondents have good memories of the times of Tito's rule, and only a few percent of those asked have completely bad memories of that period. Forty-nine percent of Montenegrins and 35 percent of Serbs are proud of their country, and 20 percent of Serbs and 9 percent of Montenegrins are not at all.

In 1990, 83 percent of the households in Serbia could cover basic expenses with their incomes, and 81 percent in Montenegro. This survey revealed, however, that today the picture is completely the opposite: 78 percent of the households in Serbia cannot cover those expenses (75 percent in Montenegro). Black-market work and smuggling are supporting 13 percent of Serbian households and 15 percent of Montenegrin ones.

Survey of Yugoslav TV, Radio Stations

95BA0180H Ljubljana REPUBLIKA in Slovene 11 Feb 95 p 10

[Article by Davor Kriska: "46 Local TV Stations and 31 Radio Stations"]

[FBIS Translated Text] In Serbia and Montenegro, 46 local TV stations and 31 radio stations are officially broadcasting their own programs. All together, however, they are no threat at all to the political influence of state television and its three official programs, or the three radio programs. The editorial base of the local TV stations rests primarily on commercial foundations, advertisements, music, films, spot announcements, and so forth. Most, if not all, do not have news broadcasts, and overall are only a compilation of agency reports along the lines of "something for everyone." The exception in this regard is the independent NTV-Studio B, whose editorial base does consist of news broadcasts, but only the broader Belgrade area can watch that program.

Of course, it is subjected to constant pressures from the authorities. Another exception was TV POLITIKA, which was directed by Aleksandar Tijanic, but the management of that firm was changed after Belgrade's break with Pale, namely because of "excessive emphasis" on Karadzic and his supporters.

The programming orientation of the new television station BK-Telkom, whose owners are Serbian businessmen from Kosovo, the Karic brothers, is not yet clear. They recently succeeded in uniting a "representative" group of media personalities, headed by Tijanic, and started to broadcast a program that for the time being is only showing satellite programs.

The old saying "bread and circuses" is turning into "trash and entertainment" at the Serbian local TV stations. Almost all the TV stations, along with advertisements, cartoons, films, and special appearances, are providing extremely strong support for so-called turbo-folk—a Serbian version of newly arranged folk music with an accelerated rhythm, with a stage full of male and female dancers dressed in rich costumes. There have been many special appearances by various folk stars such as Ceca Velickovic (Arkan's future wife), Dragana Mirkovic, Vesna Zmijanac, the infallible Lepa Brena, and so forth.

Many of the 46 stations do not even cover a single municipality with their frequency range. To be sure, it is difficult to determine what their real range is. Some residents of Kragujevac "receive" NTV-Studio B, but only if they amplify the signal strongly. That signal consequently reaches across 150 kilometers, but at the same time that signal is hard to receive in Novi Sad, which is 90 kilometers away from Belgrade. At any rate, NTV-Studio B does not present any particular danger to state television, since the authorities have written off the Belgrade area a long time ago with respect to possibilities for influence.

The only thing important to the authorities is that those signals do not reach deep into the country's interior.

In Belgrade, in addition to the three state channels and NTV and Politika, one can also receive the ART channel, TV Palma, TV Pink, the already-mentioned BK-Telkom, and soon also KBM, which is supported by former FRY [Federal Republic of Yugoslavia] Prime Minister Milan Panic, and whose director is the former state TV director, Dusan Mitevic. That television station, however, has been waiting more than a year for additional documentation, and has been broadcasting a test signal for the same amount of time.

Since the middle of last year, TV Politika has also been under the control of the state. It is headed by the former information minister, Slobodan Ignjatovic. Except for the news broadcasts, in which no one dares to mention Karadzic's name, the guests are carefully selected political figures.

There are also a lot of high-quality films. This is piracy, however, just as with all the other TV stations; the reason, of course, is the sanctions, and consequently it is not interpreted as piracy, because those affected cannot submit bills.

The ART channel deals with scientific programs and cultural events, along with numerous advertisements

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and films, and does not have news broadcasts. On TV Palma, the entire program schedule is filled with the above-mentioned turbo-folk, films, ads, and cartoons, likewise without news broadcasts. The mascot of that TV station is Palma in soft-soled shoes, who gaily dances a Serbian round dance with a handkerchief in her hand. Its owner is allegedly the long fled "Boss Jezda"—Jezdimir Vasiljevic, whose private bank Jugoskandik robbed the population of still undetermined millions of dollars.

That TV station broadcasts its program from the former building of the Belgrade League of Communists, where the headquarters of the ruling Socialist Party of Serbia is located today.

Last of all, TV Pink is also controversial in Belgrade. It began operation a full seven months ago. Many films, serials and sequels, folk and turbo-folk music, numerous advertisements, and various kinds of advice to housewives are the starting points of the "editorial policy" of that TV company, which broadcasts its program 24 hours a day.

State TV allowed it to broadcast because it gave up a frequency. The headquarters of that TV station is in the offices of the League of Communists-Movement for Yugoslavia in the Central Committee building in New Belgrade.

It is unofficially claimed that the main shareholders in that TV station are Blagoje Lucic, a former minister in Kontic's federal government, and the Komet enterprise, which acts as an enterprise, even though its owner is reportedly the League of Communists-Movement for Yugoslavia. They do not forget to mention that in English slang, "pink" denotes communists.

In addition to Belgrade, which has the most local stations, four stations are broadcasting in Nis, three in Kragujevac, two each in Smederevo, Cacak, and Negotino, and one station each in the other Serbian cities.

In Montenegro, there is only one private TV station in addition to state TV, Montenegropublic. The local TV stations are thought to be a profitable business because there are gigantic profits from ads, and only minimal costs: 500 marks in taxes, while only a camera, a table, and two chairs are needed.

One chair is intended for the director, who every so often reads the "wire service news," and the other, as a rule, is reserved for the local big shot, who makes an appearance occasionally and reports to his people about successes in the municipality or the individual town.

The director of the federal radio communications administration, Gavrilo Vuksanovic, claims that the large number of TV and radio stations is not causing difficulties for the neighboring countries. There is no syndrome like the "Italian one," i.e., 15 years ago Italy interfered with its neighbors' frequencies. He also thinks that the frequency area is as loud as possible, regardless of how many pirates operate in it.

Approximately 10 percent of the TV and radio stations are pirate ones.

Kosovo

Serb Police Movements Near Border With Albania

AU1603213695 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1735 GMT 15 Mar 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Reports from Gjakove confirm that Serbian military and police forces have been conducting intensified and dangerous movements in the vicinity of the border with Albania. Reports also state that Serbian military forces have established themselves in Koder e Cabratit, in Gjakove, and are investigating areas around Gjakove city and in the direction of the border with Albania.

The Albanian Telegraphic Agency reports that such military movements accompanied by maneuvers of various kinds have been going on in the village of Korisht, in Prizren, for several days.

Croatian Bureau Head in Belgrade Visits Kosovo

LD1603193695 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 16 Mar 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Zvonimir Markovic, head of the Croatian Government's bureau in Belgrade, arrived in Kosovo today for a three-day visit, where he had talks with Milos Mesevic, the deputy head of the Kosovo district and colleagues. The most important topics were the position and problems of the Croats in Kosovo.

After talks with the representatives of the Serbian authorities, Markovic had a meeting in Janjevo with the inhabitants of this Croat enclave, from which most residents have emigrated over the past few years as a result of the violence by the authorities, the lack of prospects, and general insecurity.

During his three-day visit to Kosovo, Markovic will also visit Lepnica where, likewise, mainly Croats live. In this village on the Yugoslav-Macedonian [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] border, the inhabitants have been having considerable difficulties with the Yugoslav Army, which was recently billeted in this area. These problems reached a climax at the end of last month whereupon the endangered Croats approached the Croatian bureau in Belgrade to seek help and protection. This is the main reason for the three-day visit by the delegation of this Bureau to Kosovo.

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